

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

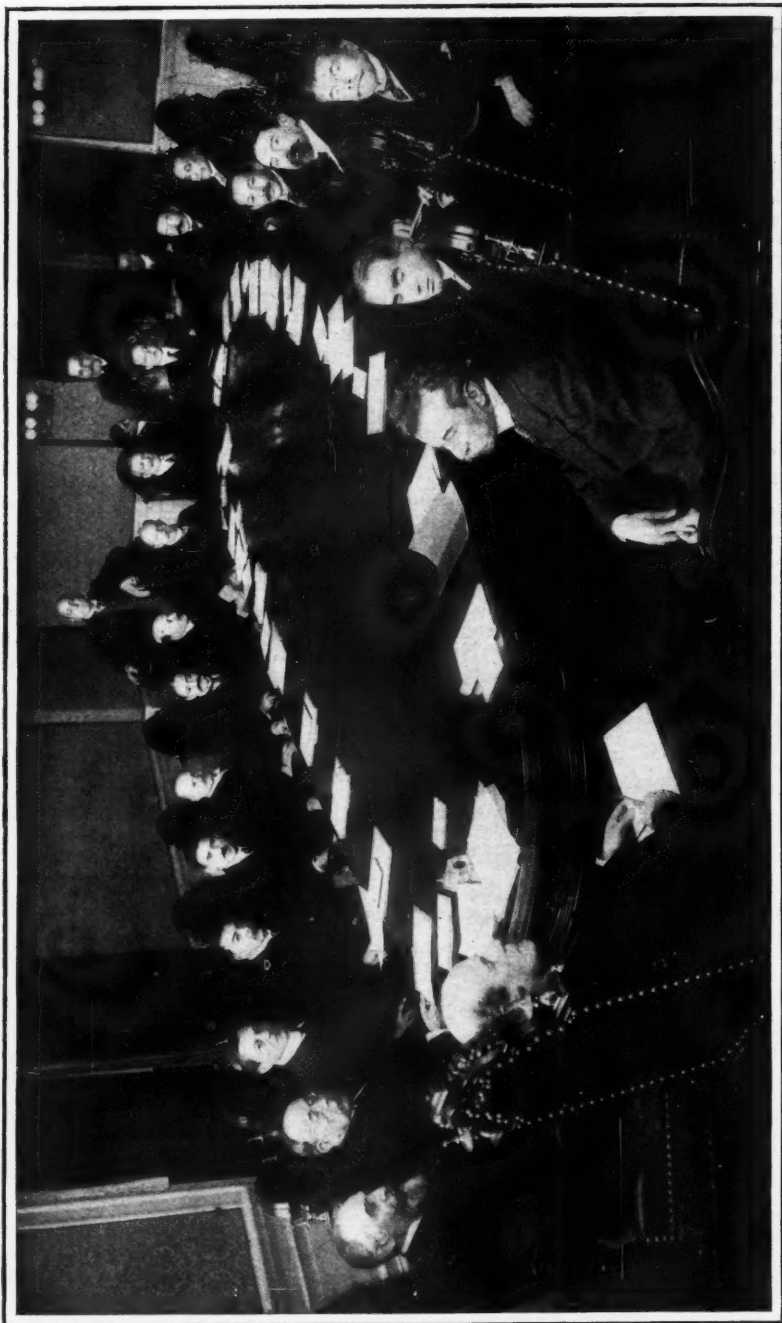
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GOVERNING BOARD OF THE PAN-AMERICAN UNION DISCUSSING NEUTRALITY QUESTIONS

(This picture shows the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union assembled in the Pan-American Building, Washington, on December 8, to consider the attitude of the American republics on the question of neutrality. This was considered one of the most important international meetings ever held in Washington. The board consists of the diplomatic representatives of the Latin-American republics and the Secretary of State of the United States. From left to right, around the table, are: Secretary Bryan, Ambassador Suarez Mújica of Chile, Minister Calderon of Bolivia, Minister Mendez of Guatemala, Minister Membreño of Honduras, Minister Morales of Panama, Minister Cordova of Ecuador, Minister de Cespedes y Quesada of Cuba, Minister Domínguez of Venezuela, Director of Honduras, Minister Soler of the Dominican Republic, Assistant Director of the Dominican Republic, Secretary of the Dominican Republic, Minister of Haiti, Minister Chamorro of Nicaragua, Minister Páez of Peru, Minister de Faria of Uruguay, Ambassador Naon of Argentina, and Ambassador da Gama of Brazil.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

American Motives and Aims

It has been our custom, in the opening pages of the January number of the REVIEW each year, to note the larger history-making tendencies of the time, and to call attention to the events of the passing year that seem most directly related to the forward movement of the world in civilization and human welfare. A year ago, when peace prevailed, our opening sentences were as follows:

Regarding mankind as a whole, the thing most to be deplored is war, and the thing most to be desired and definitely worked for is peace. Every step that can be taken by any government to lessen the likelihood of war, hasten its termination, or mitigate its horrors if it should actually exist, is plainly due as an obligation to its own people, and to the cause of civilization at large. It is too early to judge of the wisdom and efficiency in all details of the work of our State Department as directed by President Wilson and Secretary Bryan. But there can be no doubt concerning the high motives of our foreign policy, and its benevolent attitude towards other countries. Secretary Bryan has been negotiating a series of treaties designed to assure a period of investigation and inquiry into the nature of disputes before the outbreak of hostilities. Such agreements with several nations are already signed, and many others are in prospect. . . . The advantage of Mr. Bryan's plan is that it will diminish the danger of a sudden outbreak of war. The Secretary is doubtless right in believing that when disputes have been thoroughly studied and reported upon by an international commission they will have been brought into such relationship to the forces of public opinion that they can subsequently be settled either by the resuming of direct negotiation or else by reference to the Hague Tribunal or to some other form of arbitration.

A Precipitate War

Seven months after those sentences were written, the thing most dreaded in the world actually occurred. Without warning, without even the semblance of inquiry, or of discussion for the sake of the general peace, Europe plunged itself into a deadly war which has extended its baneful disturbances throughout all the continents. The war in its facts and bearings has so overshadowed all else, that we have been obliged ever since its outbreak to

devote the greater part of the space of this periodical either to the conflict itself or to conditions arising from it. To have given the war less attention would have been to lose all sense of proportion in the treatment of public affairs.

A Happy American Contrast

Meanwhile, it belongs to Americans to think deeply and resolutely into the problems of the near future. We are just now celebrating, with gratitude, a centenary of freedom from strife along the boundary line that separates us from the Dominion of Canada. While we have no governmental responsibility in the Maritime Provinces, in Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, or British Columbia, we have hearty interest and good will towards these neighbor states, and towards their democratic federal union. There have been substantial benefits on both sides of the line from everything on either side that has made for prosperity, progress, and freedom of intercourse. There have been no advantages, on either side of the line, from any acts or attitudes that have grown out of jealousy, distrust, ill-will, or a narrow policy of exclusiveness. We have the pleasure of printing in this number an eloquent tribute to the spirit of North America,—Canada and the United States together,—from the pen of Dr. J. A. Macdonald, of the *Toronto Globe*, than whom no one is better qualified to express in the largest way the feeling of our neighbors on the north. It is hard to see how any man or woman of just mind and clear vision can read his eulogium without saying to himself that although North America has indeed done tolerably well thus far, it must do even better in the future. For one thing, it should be and can be quite possible for the Canadian Dominion to participate more directly in Western Hemisphere affairs, without necessarily affecting any relations that she desires to maintain with Great Britain and other parts of the British Empire. Many things will necessitate such a tendency.

*Let Canada Sit
at the Pan-
American Board*

For example, note the interesting frontispiece of this number. It shows a very recent session of the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union, in its fine building at Washington. At the head of the table sits our Secretary of State, and around him, each in his own place, are the ambassadors of Brazil, Argentina, and Chile, and the ministers from the other American republics. Standing at the opposite end are Mr. John Barrett, the Director General, and Dr. Francisco J. Yanes, the Assistant Director. It is earnestly to be hoped that in the near future a Mexican ambassador representing a stable government will be found once more in his place at the council table. But certainly there ought to be a Canadian in this Governing Board of the Pan-American Union. While we have been congratulating ourselves upon the keeping of the peace between Canada and the United States, and rejoicing in our peaceful and unfortified international boundary line, we must not forget how Argentina and Chile have also adjusted boundary disputes by arbitration, and are pledged to perpetual peace and amity.

*South
American
Progress*

Amidst great difficulties, due to rapidly changing conditions and lack of a uniformly developed and trained citizenship, the South American countries are choosing the principles of good neighborhood; rejecting the dogmas of militarism; accepting the leadership of their scholars and eminent thinkers in the domain of international law and diplomacy. The Monroe Doctrine means nothing except that all the American republics must be unhindered in trying to realize those American ideals of self-government and peace that are so splendidly portrayed in Dr. Macdonald's article. Now that they have become strong and influential, it is just as much the business of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile to stand by the United States in the maintenance of Western Hemisphere freedom and independence, as it is for the government at Washington to uphold those principles.

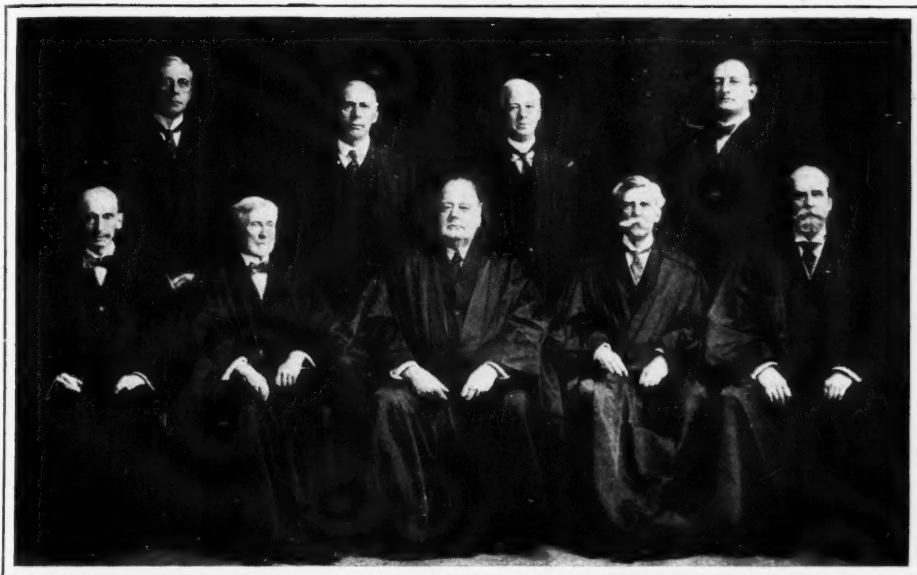
*Canada as a
Bond of
Union*

Canada is also in reality a great American republic, whose vital interests are not essentially different from those of the United States. Canada, according to Dr. Macdonald, has solved a great problem in that she has found a way to be fully self-governing without separation from the mother country. She has yet, however, to ask and answer the question whether there is not an even higher

*Unity
Allows
Variety*

duty and greater career before her. The peace of Europe and the world will be furthered by every step that improves the harmony of the Western Hemisphere on a non-military basis. World Federation will necessitate some subordinate groupings. The Pan-American Union may well grow in influence and in functions, until it has led the way to a far more perfect assurance of peace and stability in the Western Hemisphere than has yet been attained. Canada's destinies are here, in American latitudes and longitudes, and cannot be shifted. Her problems of the future, however, need not be considered in the light of any national rivalries or animosities. Canada is in a position to enjoy and benefit by the most perfect relations with Great Britain, the United States, and France. No other country in the world is so favorably placed. It may prove, also, that she may be the means of still further binding together in bonds of perpetual friendship these three great countries, with each one of which her past, present, and future are so inevitably associated.

Civilization has become an international fabric. National life and locality life have immense value, and their distinctive qualities should be encouraged rather than obliterated. But precisely as it is feasible to develop individuality in the several members of our union of forty-eight States, without in the smallest degree weakening the structure of the American nation as a whole, even so it can be made feasible for nations to harmonize and co-operate, laying aside the war spirit, without interfering with the aspirations of any land or people towards its highest and most distinctive development and expression. It is the present militaristic system of rival governments,—recognizing no superior authority,—that crushes races and peoples. A true world federation would liberate, never repress. The more free and democratic England becomes,—and the more completely British statesmen adopt the principles of home rule and broad tolerance, the more loyal and united are all the diverse elements in the empire. They find contentment in their sense of opportunity to achieve for themselves. They are not reduced to drab uniformity, but go forward spontaneously. Our Canadian friends have found a way to make their great French-speaking and English-speaking elements comfortable and happy,—in their separate interests as well as in their common affairs.



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THE SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES, A TRIBUNAL WHOSE DECISIONS ARE RESPECTED AS AUTHORITY, AND WHICH SUFFICE TO MEET ALL DIFFERENCES ARISING BETWEEN FORTY-EIGHT STATES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CITIZENS

[Many important questions have lately been determined by the Supreme Court, and all the members of the federal union are constant gainers by its wise exercise of jurisdiction. It points the way to some authoritative tribunal of the nations for the settlement of questions that endanger peace. Sitting, from left to right, are Justices William R. Day, Joseph McKenna, Edward Douglass White (Chief Justice), Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles E. Hughes. Standing, are Justices Mahlon Pitney, Willis Van Devanter, Joseph Rucker Lamar, and James C. McReynolds]

*Interests
Across the
Border*

There are in North America a great number of voluntary organizations and societies that do not find the international boundary line obstructive. We in the United States in a hundred ways are constantly helped and benefited by individual leaders in all sorts of activities who are guiding the progress of the Canadian communities. In like manner, the Canadians constantly show their satisfaction in deriving help from their colleagues on the south side of the boundary line. What the natural forces of progress are bringing to pass for the benefit of us all must be helped henceforth, rather than hindered, by the agencies that we call government. While, then, this European war gives us occasion for gratitude in the great fact of our continental peace, it also admonishes us to be at the greater pains in future to allow nothing to disturb the relations of good neighborhood.

*A Higher
Rule Must
Be Set Up*

The people of the world can no longer live in the fear of war between nations. The world will have to create a higher authority as a substitute for war. Getting the thing done will be difficult in practise. Some nations

will be loath to give up their ambitious designs, their hope of self-won aggrandizement; while other nations will find it hard to give up their fears and their habits of distrust. But the thing must be done, and it must be revolutionary. There must be a real federation of the world. The individual man must be a citizen of the world, not less than a citizen of his own country, his own province, his own village. There must be a peace union, with authority and with power to enforce its just decrees.

*The Sea
Must Be
Neutral*

There must even be neutralization of the high seas everywhere. Nations should have no more right to fight one another on the common seas, and to discommode peaceful commerce, than private individuals to fight duels with shotguns in crowded public streets. The jurisdiction of the high seas should belong to the higher world-authority. Peaceful commerce should be protected against piracy and depredation by an international fleet. The idea existed in the last century, when the United States, Great Britain, and other powers joined in policing the seas to suppress and destroy the slave trade, in which hun-

dreds of ships and crews were piratically engaged. "Sea-power" should belong to no single nation. It is a proper function of the organized world of commerce. This year should see the end of terrorism afloat.

*Neutrals
Coming
Together*

Perhaps nothing bold and concrete will come just now from the discussions of the Pan-American Union regarding the rights and duties of neutrals in this period of war. But in less direct and immediate ways the inquiry set on foot at the meeting of December 8 (see our frontispiece) will probably have profound consequences for good. It is valuable because it represents solidarity. This war began in the rivalries of race and nation in the heart of Europe. It has been carried on without full respect for the solemn treaties, signed at The Hague, having to do with the relative rights and obligations of neutrals and belligerents. A number of embarrassing questions have arisen on account of attempts to use Western Hemisphere ports, or territories, in the supplying of warships or in the guidance of their movements by wireless telegraphy. The Peruvian Minister, Mr. Pezet, was led to propose that a neutral zone be drawn about the Western Hemisphere, from which belligerent operations should be excluded.

*Can the Zones
of Peace Be
Widened?*

The old-time three-mile limit was based upon the carrying distance of naval and coast-defense guns. Artillery range is now so much increased that the neutralized coastwise strips of water should obviously be widened. Manifestly, however, Minister Pezet's proposals could not well be put into effect in time of war without the consent of the belligerents. At the meeting December 8, Dr. Naon, the Argentine Ambassador, offered resolutions that were unanimously adopted. They held that the magnitude of the present European war has resulted in operations that redound to the injury of neutrals. They call for a better definition of neutral rights, with a view to the protection of commerce. To take the lead in this matter, a special committee was constituted, with the Secretary of State as chairman *ex officio*. As members of the committee, there were named the ambassadors of Brazil, Chile, and Argentina, and the ministers from Uruguay, Peru, Ecuador, Honduras, and Cuba. Certainly valuable results must come from the study of these questions of international law and right, by men of so much experience, who are also to be assisted by their governments and by consulting jurists.

*The Meek Must
Assert
Themselves*

So relentless in its grim necessities is the law of modern warfare, that the innocent bystander cannot rely upon his mere rights as a shield and a defense. Neutrals must do what they can to assert their common interest. And if wars must be, there should be limits fixed within which to confine the operations, provided some authority can be created that will enforce the restrictions. The world must now make its way rapidly towards the tentative solution of these immense problems. Until the peace can be kept by international arrangements, it must in so far as possible be kept by the strength of those who believe in peace and are determined to have it.

*Our
Own
Defenses*

No possible good could come to the world at the present time through a sudden decrease of the ability of the United States to protect our own peace and that of our neighbors. We have witnessed in the past month some rather puzzling attempts to array men in opposition to each other, on the subject of American armament and defensive preparation. We find one group of men organizing a society to protect us against the extreme danger of our being virtually without any means of defense whatsoever. We find another group of men organizing to protect the country against the evil designs of those against whom it is charged that they would turn America into an armed camp, striving to outdo German militarism and to supplant England in control of the seas. The truth is that there is hardly any difference at all in the practical programs of these two groups. They think almost exactly alike; but one group emphasizes one necessary matter, while the other group is concerned with a different aspect of the military question. Neither side has quite justified a controversial tone or spirit. Each has been in danger of misrepresenting the other. Obviously, it would be madness to take our naval vessels out into midocean and sink them, in order forsooth to show the world our readiness for perpetual peace. It would be as foolish to disband our army just now as it would be to abolish the police department of New York City.

*Strength
for Good
Purposes*

Fortunately, the average man has common sense. The continued tranquillity of the Western Hemisphere must owe a great deal to the American navy as an agency for policing and protecting our half of the world. All maritime nations, of both hemispheres, are realizing that it is

fortunate that Uncle Sam is the sole guarantor of the Panama Canal, that he has the will and the strength to protect its neutrality, and that it will not be made a scene of war. Cuba's tranquillity is due to the fact that the army and navy of the United States stand ready to protect the peace and order of the island against rapine and violence from within or from without. Certainly it is to be hoped that all intelligent Americans have been duly chastened by the lessons of the terrible war in Europe. It is to be hoped that we have cast out all the lurking devils of imperial covetousness or ambition.

*Our
Philippine
Policy*

If we are to stay in the Philippines, it is not for any reasons of "strategy," naval or otherwise, in any possible future war. It is merely because in those islands, as in Cuba and Porto Rico, we have been helpful through a transitional period, and have yet some important work to do. There is neither tyranny nor selfishness in our Philippine policy. We have been developing the islands with amazing rapidity in the direction of agricultural and educational progress, in commerce, in public health, and in political institutions. But all wise observers, practically without exception, are of opinion that we cannot now give up this mission. Let no one, however, imagine that we are staying there in the spirit of a nation seeking the extension of colonial empire. We have become about as free from that spirit in the Philippines as are the American educators in Turkey and China, whose altruistic work was so sympathetically set forth by Mr. Oscar Straus, Judge Lobingier, Dr. Herrick, and others, in our issue for December. Even Mr. Jones understands better than a year ago.

*Efficiency
a
Duty*

The American army and navy exist to help in keeping the world's peace until such time,—and it ought to come very soon,—as the world may organize so efficiently as to relieve individual nations of these regrettable burdens. It happens that for some years past we have been spending a round sum of, let us say, \$250,000,000 a year upon the maintenance of our army and navy. In following with reasonable care the discussion of national defense that centered in New York and Washington last month, we did not discover any responsible group or body of citizens who took the ground that we ought suddenly to cease spending that sum, or ought to reduce it materially. On the other hand, we were not able to discover any organized group who de-

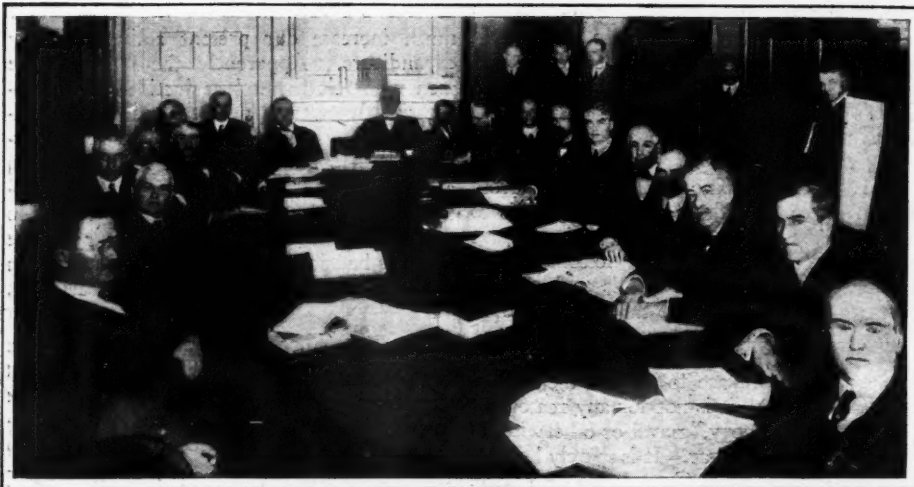
manded or expected that we should very much increase our present annual military expenditure. Apparently there were some men who felt themselves justified in becoming greatly agitated over the technical conditions. They wished to thrash out in the corner groceries and the country schoolhouses, as well as in the halls of Congress, the question whether we had exactly enough torpedo tubes, and the extent to which our marine gunners had lost proficiency in marksmanship while the fleet lay off the coasts of Mexico.

*No
Alarm
Visible*

That these questions have their place is denied by nobody. But the country has declined to be alarmed. We should act responsibly in whatever we do. If we hold to the view,—as doubtless the entire country does hold,—that we must continue to have an army and navy, we should be slovenly fools not to have the best and most efficient army and navy that we could possibly procure,—through science, skill, expert training, continuity of policy, and economical management,—with the money available. There have been times when a pending issue in Congress merely resolved itself into a fight upon a point like this: Shall the present session authorize one superdreadnaught, more powerful than any existing, or two battleships less powerful though costing more in the aggregate than the one leviathan? And we have witnessed so-called advocates of international peace throwing themselves with almost insane emotion into the fight against the two battleships, and in favor of the one. Yet no principle at all was at stake. Congressmen were merely haggling at the naval appropriations, in order to make the so-called "pork-barrels" a little larger. They wanted to spend the money for post-office buildings and river improvements in their respective districts. They were spoiling a symmetrical policy of naval development,—just as an improvident farmer might cut down the insurance on his house and barns in order to use the premium money towards buying an automobile.

*Good Sense
About
Armament*

In short, there ought to be an end of namby-pamby talk about the army and navy. Surely, there is no more approved friend of international peace in our country than the Hon. Joseph H. Choate. Read, then, what he writes in this number of the REVIEW, on our need of efficient means of national defense. He is in perfect agreement with what President Wilson has set forth in his message



Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

SECRETARY DANIELS BEFORE THE HOUSE NAVAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, ON DECEMBER 10

(This picture shows the House Committee on Naval Affairs in session with Secretary of the Navy, Joseph Daniels, on the stand. In his testimony the Secretary advocated his two-battleships-a-year program and declared that the sentiment of the American people is against turning the country into a great military power. Left to right around the table, are: Representatives Roberts of Massachusetts, Gerry of Rhode Island, Williams of Illinois, Tribble of Georgia, Estopinal of Louisiana, and Talbot of Maryland, Captain Winterhalter (aide to the Secretary of the Navy), Representative Butler of Pennsylvania, Secretary Daniels, Representatives Padgett of Tennessee (Chairman), Gray of Indiana, Hobson of Alabama, Witherspoon of Mississippi, Buchanan of Illinois, Stephens of California, Farr of Pennsylvania, Browning of New Jersey, Lee of Pennsylvania, and Kelley of Michigan)

to Congress of December 8. In another part of this number of the REVIEW (see page 93) there will be found a summary of the current official utterances upon this important question of defense. There are included excerpts from the President's message, the reports of Secretaries Garrison and Daniels, and from the recommendations of the Chief of Staff of the Army and Admiral Dewey as head of the General Board of the Navy. The period in which we live is too serious to justify those who have a taste for controversy in trying to exaggerate seeming differences of opinion which lend themselves so easily to reconciliation. For our part, President Wilson's words seem statesmanlike and noble. They are wholly compatible with strict and efficient attention to the business of getting the best results out of the vast expenditures for army and navy that are met by the taxpayers.

*The
Current
Reports*

Secretary Garrison brings conspicuous good sense to bear, in his report, and no one can doubt the entire harmony between him and his chief, who is *ex officio* commander-in-chief of our armies and navies. Secretary Daniels does not argue down the views of the Naval Board, but, as a member of the cabinet, he has to deal with financial facts as he finds them; and the budget seems not to allow

as many new battleships as might otherwise be desirable. We are heartily in favor of the plan of very short army enlistments. There are thousands of young Americans who would be benefited by one year of discipline in the army, if the conditions were made wholly favorable to their mental and physical development, as well as to their strictly military training. It is also possible, along the lines of Swiss and Australian experience, to bring a vast number of boys into a relatively greater fitness to defend their country and to serve it as good citizens. Civic duty, rather than brute force, should be inculcated. There might well be such juvenile training as would fit boys in a preliminary way to be firemen, policemen, railroad men, and all-around good practical citizens, as well as to defend the country in time of need. Doubtless much interesting information will result from the inquiries set on foot by the military committees when the session of Congress opened last month. The army and navy appropriation bills will give suitable opportunity for investigation and debate.

*Civil War,
—Mexico*

It must always be borne in mind that there are other kinds of warfare that are more deadly than those between rival nations. Germany organizes and fights with perfect unity, raising unheard-of sums of money, putting forth

heroic efforts. The same thing may be said of France, of England, and seemingly of Russia. But when these wars between nations are ended there will remain always some danger of internal strife, of civil warfare. They were armed for imminent conflict in Ireland, only a few months ago. There has been revolutionary struggling in San Domingo and Haiti, and only lately in Peru and Ecuador. But most devastating and chaotic of all has been the civil strife in Mexico. As we have often said, that country needs to go into an outside receivership, and be administered without politics, for its own welfare, during a term of years. It is unfit as yet to govern itself on the democratic plan; and the firm but enlightened autocrat who can gain and hold the mastery, as successor to Porfirio Diaz, has not yet been acknowledged.



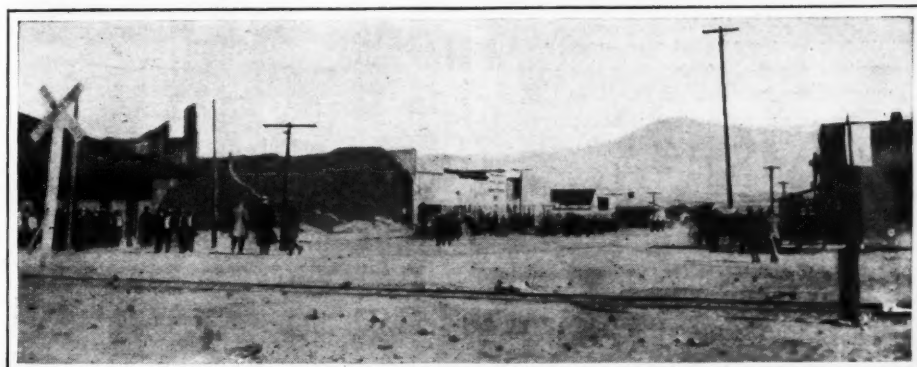
Photograph by Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

SECRETARY GARRISON CONGRATULATING GENERAL HUGH L. SCOTT, AT THE WAR DEPARTMENT, ON OCCASION OF THE GENERAL'S RECENT PROMOTION TO THE OFFICE OF CHIEF OF STAFF IN THE ARMY

*Villa As
the Strong
Man*

This rôle of strong man may even yet have to be played by Francisco Villa. He is illiterate, of the humblest origin, and of very unpromising record. But he has developed into a military genius, and he seems to have the luck to be fighting on the side of destiny, of the common people, and of the wise principle of keeping on good terms with Uncle Sam.

Carranza belongs to the instructed class, but seems to have an unerring faculty for doing the wrong thing. Through Villa's generalship, Carranza reached Mexico City after the flight of Huerta. The two leaders promptly fell out, Carranza failing to work in harmony with the national convention, while Villa first deferred to it, then dominated it. The national convention chose Gutierrez for tem-



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THE TOWN OF NACO, ARIZ., ON THE BOUNDARY LINE, AFFECTED BY MEXICAN WARFARE



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GEN. FELIPE ANGELES, WHO HAS BEEN VILLA'S MOST ACCOMPLISHED MILITARY ASSOCIATE, AND MAY BECOME PROVISIONAL PRESIDENT OF MEXICO

porary President. Carranza declined to step aside, and was forced to leave Mexico City; while Villa's forces installed Gutierrez in the desolated National Palace. On November 23, our troops that had been at Vera Cruz for about seven months went on board the transports, and Carranza's men took possession of the town. Carranza himself adopted Vera Cruz as his temporary capital. Both Villa and Carranza hail from the north, and their followers have been in bitter conflict in Sonora. The chief fighting last month was at Naco, on the boundary line, and stray bullets killed several people and wounded many others on the Arizona side of the line. Another instance was thus furnished, on a small scale, of the reckless disregard of the rights of the neutral bystander when military men array their forces against one another. Our authorities showed remarkable forbearance, although General Tasker H. Bliss had several regiments near at hand. Secretary Garrison, after the middle of December, sent General Hugh L. Scott, now Chief of Staff, to visit the scene of trouble and to endeavor, through his extensive personal acquaintance and great influence, to persuade the factions to withdraw further from the American line. The important thing, of course, is to get some central authority established in Mexico. Villa and Zapata seem to have come through the ordeal of struggle and elimination, and to have emerged as the successful "men on

horseback." They have different ideas as to a successor to Gutierrez in the office of Provisional President; but it is supposed that they may compromise upon Gen. Felipe Angeles. That Carranza's position at Vera Cruz will soon be rendered untenable is the common belief. It had been reported that he was all ready to follow the example of several predecessors, and take ship to enjoy the hospitality of some other country. The convention of Constitutionalist leaders was expected to assemble again on January 1.

*Some Army
and Navy
Problems*

Affairs on the Mexican boundary and in Mexican waters have better familiarized Americans with the names and qualities of a few of the modest, capable, and faithful men who rank high in the American army and navy. Under our system, we retire these men from active service when they reach a deadline age, which is considerably below the actual age of most of the eminent generals and admirals now controlling the operations of European armies and navies. For example, General Wotherspoon had been Chief of the Army Staff for only a few months, when the age limit put him on the retired list. Being at his very best, he has accepted the invitation of Governor Whitman to become head of the Department of Public Works in the State of New York. General Scott, the new Chief of Staff, and General Tasker H. Bliss will retire in 1917. Among others soon to leave the active service of the navy are Admirals Badger, Cowles, Moore, Willis, and Reynolds, all of whom go in the present year. Admirals Howard and Fiske



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GOOD-BYE, OR ONLY AU REVOIR?
From the Tribune (Chicago)



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GENERAL CARRANZA'S FORCES MARCHING INTO VERA CRUZ UPON THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE UNITED STATES TROOPS ON NOVEMBER 23

will be retired in 1916, and Admiral Fletcher in 1917. These men are all in prime condition, and the navy should have the benefit of their training and experience. They are national assets.

Emerson has some suggestions (see page 48) in this number that are worth reading.

*Broaden
the
Services!*

Evidently if we do not retire generals and admirals, the younger men will never have a chance to reach the top. Yet we need our trained men; and we should not deprive ourselves of the wisdom and experience of some of our ablest officers in the very period when they have attained their highest power for public service. The solution will be found to lie in a different and a broader conception of the army and navy. These services will be even more efficient when they cease to be so narrowly professionalized. Hundreds of officers could be employed in educational work, and in helping to train young citizens for armed defense and for other kinds of civic duty. Hundreds could be used in the administration of railroads, large industries, public works of all kinds, while still retaining some relation to the army and navy. It is plain that we have not hit upon the right scheme in this country; and that some men of genius in organization are needed to help us better to coördinate and to simplify things that are now needlessly complicated and separate from each other. Mr. Harrington



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BRIG.-GEN. TASKER H. BLISS

(Now in command of U. S. troops on Mexican border)



JUAN ISIDRO JIMINEZ, NEW PRESIDENT OF SANTO DOMINGO

(Elected and installed under the auspices of the United States Navy)

*Regulating
Politics in
Santo Domingo*

One of the most practical and beneficent uses to which the American navy has been put for some time is illustrated in the recent political history of Santo Domingo. Recent revolutionary struggles would have torn the island to pieces, sacrificed thousands of lives, and wrecked property interests, both domestic and foreign, but for the armed forces of the United States. Our marines had been withdrawn, early in the autumn; but on request of the State Department nearly a thousand of them, late in November, were sent from our naval base at Guantanamo (on the south coast of Cuba) to quell a fresh revolt growing out of the recent election. The election itself had been carried on under the actual supervision of an American commission, sent by President Wilson, at the head of which was ex-Governor Fort of New Jersey. It is reported that "United States marines with American civilians in Santo Domingo were stationed at every polling place in the republic, under the direction of Captain Eberle, commanding the cruiser *Washington*."

*A Proper Use
for
the Navy*

The result was a reasonably peaceful and fair election for the first time in the history of Santo Domingo, with the largest vote that had ever

been polled. Secretary Bryan, in his Santo Dominican policy, is acting in accordance with the opinions held by his Republican predecessors. The newly elected President, Juan Isidro Jimenez, took office, on December 5, and an unusual condition of quiet was reported. The supervision of this country over the finances, the elections, and the conditions of peace and order in Santo Domingo constitutes a piece of police work, on the international scale, that should henceforth be performed regularly as a part of the proper business of our government.

*Peace Again
in
Colorado*

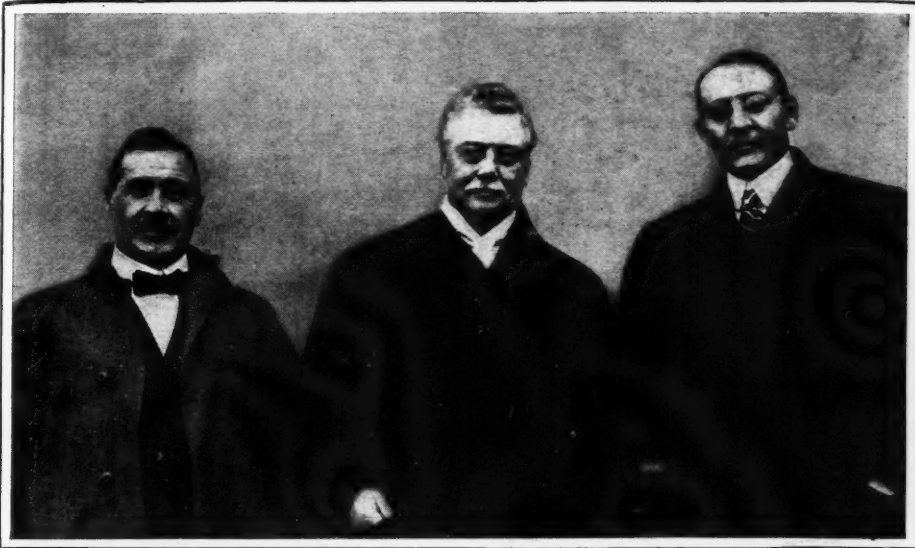
One of the most important recent services of the United States Army was practically concluded last month when, on the 8th, the strike in the Colorado coal mines was abruptly terminated, upon the order of the executive board of the United Mine Workers of America. It had been one of the worst strikes in our history. At first there had been a state of minor warfare between the striking miners and the hired guards and strike-breakers of the employing companies. Then there had been some deadly collisions between the State militia and the strikers, with results so threatening as to lead the President of the United States to respond to Governor Ammons' call for federal troops. Nearly 2000 United States regulars were stationed in the disturbed districts, and the mines had gradually resumed operation under protection against violence on the part of the union men who were still on strike. President Wilson, through investigators and mediators had en-



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INADEQUATE DEFENSE, ADEQUATE DEFENSE, OR MILITARISM

From the Tribune (Chicago)



THE COMMISSION APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT WILSON TO MEDIATE POINTS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE COLORADO COAL COMPANIES AND THE MINERS

(Hon. Seth Low, the chairman, is in the center. At the left of the picture is Mr. Patrick Gilday, of Pennsylvania, a labor-union official. At the right is Mr. Charles W. Mills, the principal owner of a Pennsylvania coal company)

deavored to obtain from the owners and strikers an agreement upon a three-years truce, points of difference to be settled by reference to a commission to be named by the President. The strikers had agreed to these proposals, but the owners had objected to certain items in the program. The question figured largely in the State election, and had much to do with the Republican victory,—Governor Carlson being pledged to a firm enforcement of law. He is said to have received the votes of many Democrats who were opposed to the methods of the strike leaders. Fortunately, however, there seems no likelihood of a continued situation that might call for force or drastic measures. A few days prior to the calling-off of the strike (but with undoubted knowledge of what was going to happen), President Wilson named a commission of three to act as mediators in future points at issue between the Colorado coal operators and the miners. These commissioners are (1) the Hon. Seth Low, of New York, president of the National Civic Federation, and of great experience in questions of industrial dispute; (2) Mr. Charles W. Mills, of Pennsylvania, a coal operator of wide knowledge of the trade and its conditions; and (3) Mr. Patrick Gilday, one of the officers of the Mine Workers of America. These men would hardly have accepted the appointment if there had not been good reason for the hope that discussion and

conciliation would take the place of violence, that the owners would be less arbitrary on their part, and the miners less victimized by the bad counsels of anarchists and criminals in their organizations.

*Credit Due
the
Army*

Meanwhile the United States troops had brought safety to scenes where many lives had been sacrificed, and had shown tact and good judgment. The army has also of late supported law and order in temporary emergencies in Montana and Arkansas, besides saving the States of Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona from what would undoubtedly have been serious conflict along the Mexican border. We have a very honorable, useful, and trustworthy little army; it is not much infected with the horrid doctrines of European militarism; we can afford to rely upon it for still further useful tasks. It has an excellent civilian head in Secretary Garrison, and in its generals, colonels, and subordinate officers it has a complement of upright and loyal men worthy of our best traditions and not opposed to the spirit of our highest aspirations for a future of world peace.

*The
President's
Message*

At about the middle of a Presidential term, political cleavages begin to assert themselves; the opposition party feels constrained to criticize the President and the party in power; if the



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THE FEDERAL RESERVE BOARD—ACTUALLY DOING BUSINESS

(From left to right are Secretary of the Treasury McAdoo, Comptroller of the Currency Williams, Adolph C. Miller, Frederic A. Delano, H. Parker Willis [secretary], Charles S. Hamlin [Governor], W. P. G. Harding, and Paul M. Warburg)

Administration has opponents within its own party, they begin to grow restless and to put their heads together. The session of Congress that opened on December 7 is the concluding one of the body elected in 1912. The House recently elected will not be in session until next December, unless called together for extra duties by the President. According to his custom, Mr. Wilson appeared in person on the second day of the session, and delivered his message to Congress. It was an eloquent speech, and well received. Its allusions to national defense have been criticized, yet we are constrained to say, in all sincerity, that they seem to us to accord with the mature sentiment of the country. A quotation will be found on page 93. The message deals with several matters of pending legislation. The program for regulating business is declared to be "virtually complete," and we are told that business may go forward with confidence. But war conditions so affect international trade and commerce as to make it necessary that we should supply foreign markets as never before, and that trade should be carried on, particularly with South America, in merchant ships flying our flag. The President believes that this should come about by a bold public measure, and he defends the pending bill, which would make the Government itself the owner of a merchant fleet. It cannot be said that public opinion seems very heartily to support this proposal, although the need of ships is

clear and the opportunities for our maritime trade are exceptional. The President urges the completion of Mr. Lane's program of conservation measures, and supports the Philippine bill which enlarges the constitution of insular self-government; but nothing is said of Philippine independence. The question of rural credits is deferred until another session. The subject is thought to require still further study and debate.

*Business
is
Supported*

The important thing, of course, is the passage of appropriation bills and the steadying, by all means possible, of the agricultural, industrial, and financial situation. The new Federal Reserve Board has gained public confidence in short order, and the country seems better prepared to meet financial strain and shock than at any previous time in its history. The country awaits the naming of the members of the Federal Trade Commission, which is to help in the supervision of interstate commerce so far as industrial corporations are concerned. Next month we shall refer more particularly to agricultural problems as set forth in the excellent report of Secretary Houston, and to some of the interesting topics discussed by Postmaster-General Burleson, relating as they do to the daily affairs of many millions of our people. The war, rather than new legislation or government policies, is responsible for abnormal business conditions.

Senate
and
President

It is to be regretted that differences arose last month between the President and the Senate, regarding so-called "patronage." Senators of the party in power expect to be consulted about the filling of certain federal offices in their respective States. Mr. Wilson had named several postmasters and some other officials without consulting Senator O'Gorman of New York, Senator Reed of Missouri, and perhaps one or two others. There is so much public business of great seriousness, requiring the best attention of every man in public life at this time, that disputes over patronage are not seemly. It is to be hoped that they may not consume any of the time or energy that should be devoted to larger things. It would be an immense relief if "politics" and "patronage" could be wholly eliminated from the country's post-office service, so that it might be put upon a basis of permanent efficiency. This remark is not made in criticism of any man in the Administration or in the Senate. Nobody has more clearly seen the need of a complete reform in this respect than the present Postmaster-General.

Prohibition
and Woman
Suffrage

For more than a year Congress has been dodging a vote on national prohibition and woman suffrage, but last month the Rules Committee of the House, by unanimous vote, ordered special rules for the consideration of the Hobson prohibition resolution and the Bristow-Mondell resolution for woman suffrage, each of which proposes an amendment to the Constitution for which a two-thirds majority is required in the House. The defeat of both measures was confidently predicted last month, and it was noticeable that in the case of the prohibition amendment the "wets" were more eager than the "drys" to secure an early vote. Secretary Bryan has declared it as his opinion that the time is not ripe for the submission of such amendments, and that, even if a two-thirds vote of both House and Senate could be obtained, there is no reason to believe that the amendment would be ratified at this time by three-fourths of the States. Nevertheless, the very fact that propositions of this kind should get to a vote in Congress is highly significant.

World-Wide
Anti-
Alcoholism

It is understood that President Wilson, like Secretary Bryan, holds that these matters are questions for State and not federal legisla-



Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

DR. HENRY VAN DYKE, AMERICAN MINISTER TO
HOLLAND

(As he appeared on his recent visit to Washington)

tion. But the extraordinary impetus that has been given to the prohibition movement in many of our States probably accounts in great part for the aggressive attitude of the friends of prohibition in the national Congress. A map published in our December number (page 663) showed thirteen States of the Union now under State-wide prohibition, five of them having been voted "dry" during the year 1914. Under our institutions and forms of government it is impossible to put in force such a measure as the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors in so summary a fashion as has just been demonstrated on a remarkable scale in Russia, a nation which practically controls the liquor monopoly through governmental agencies, and is relatively independent of public sentiment in the enforcement of its decrees. The astonishing success of the prohibition of vodka-selling in Russia since the mobilization order of last summer is set forth on page 96 of this REVIEW.

*Alaskan
Railroads*

The annual report on the work of the Interior Department, by Secretary Lane, is one of the most readable "pub-docs" that has been issued in many a day. Among topics of special timely interest treated by the Secretary are the projected system of government railroads for Alaska, the coal-leasing bill for that territory, and the new reclamation law applying to the arid portions of our own West. It will be remembered that early last year Congress passed a bill authorizing preliminary surveys for the Alaska railroad system. Although this bill did not become a law by the President's signature until March 12, the engineers had been appointed and were on the ground with their outfits on the earliest day in summer on which it was possible to begin work. The summer was spent in the work and the commission of engineers will shortly submit to President Wilson its plans and surveys on which may be based the final decision as to the route and character of the railroad which the Government is to build.

*Opening the
Coal Fields*

Four coast points have been considered as possible terminals: Cordova, Valdez, Portage Bay, and Seward. A short line capable of extension northerly already runs from Cordova. There is a government road from Valdez to Fairbanks and the Alaska Northern road has been built for seventy-two miles from Seward. With the information now available to the Government at Washington there seems no reason why the proposed railroad system, which will open to settlement an immense region heretofore undeveloped, should not be pushed rapidly to completion. Hardly less important for the future of Alaska than the railroad law was the passage of the law providing for the leasing of the great coal-fields. These will be at once surveyed by the Government and leased in forty-acre blocks, no single lease to exceed 2560 acres. The Government will receive from these coal lands a minimum royalty of two cents a ton and an annual rental of from twenty-five cents to one dollar per year per acre applicable on the royalty, this last provision making it onerous to hold land undeveloped. By unlocking these vast coal deposits the Government does its part towards making it possible for Alaska to pay for her own development. Secretary Daniels last month informed a Congressional Committee that tests just made show this Alaska coal to be superior for our naval vessels.

*The New
Reclamation
Law*

Our own Western States are particularly interested in the new reclamation law which went into effect last summer. This law extends the time for the payment made by the pioneer farmer on a reclamation project from ten to twenty years. By reducing the annual installments paid for water rights, the Government enables the settler to level his lands, secure farm implements and cattle, and gives him the opportunity to take from the land, in the words of Secretary Lane, "enough to pay for his water rights and live." There is also a provision in the law which is intended to compel the cultivation of private holdings and no longer permit their being held for speculation. Secretary Lane is especially desirous that the two bills, which were passed by the House, but failed of passage in the Senate,—the general leasing bill, so called, and the water power bill, should be enacted into law. The former of these measures would divide the revenue between the States whence the resources come and the Federal Government, while the power bill gives promise of safety to the investor, to whom it grants a fifty-years' lease of the Government site or other needed Government land. At the end of that period, however, the Government may take over the plant, paying for the right-of-way, water rights, and lands only their actual cost, and for all other property (excepting franchise or good will) its reasonable value.

*The Government
and
the Indian*

Secretary Lane gives special attention to the status of the Indian, the policy of our national government in its dealings with him, and the methods by which it is hoped to make him a really useful part of the nation. The "Indian problem" that the government had on its hands for many decades has virtually disappeared with the apportionment of land in severalty and the breaking up of tribal relationships. The old Cherokee Nation, with its Senate and House and full governmental machinery, went out of existence on the first day of last July. The Cherokees are now American citizens and the whole future Indian policy of our government should be shaped with a view to the future amalgamation of all tribal Indians into our body politic. This is clearly the view held by Secretary Lane and by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, the Hon. Cato Sells. The "wards-of-the-nation" theory, which for many years made every Indian reservation an orphan asylum, has become obsolete.

*The New
Program—
Education*

It is the purpose of this administration to make the Indian Bureau a wisely directed educational agency, to assist in every possible way to make the Indian capable of supporting himself, and to minimize, as far as possible, the almsgiving features that have always been associated with the government's attempts to "take care of" the Indian. Never before was so much done by the government by way of showing the Indian how to do his farming to the best advantage, and never before were so many or so excellent school facilities open to Indian children. The program that Secretary Lane advances he sums up in these words: "to organize each group of Indians into a community of sanely guided coöperators who shall be told and taught that this government is not to continue as an indulgent father, but as a helpful, experienced, and solicitous elder brother." Men may differ as to the methods by which this program is to be worked out, but as a general Indian policy it is hard to see how any succeeding administration can hope to improve on it.

*Sing Sing's
New Warden*

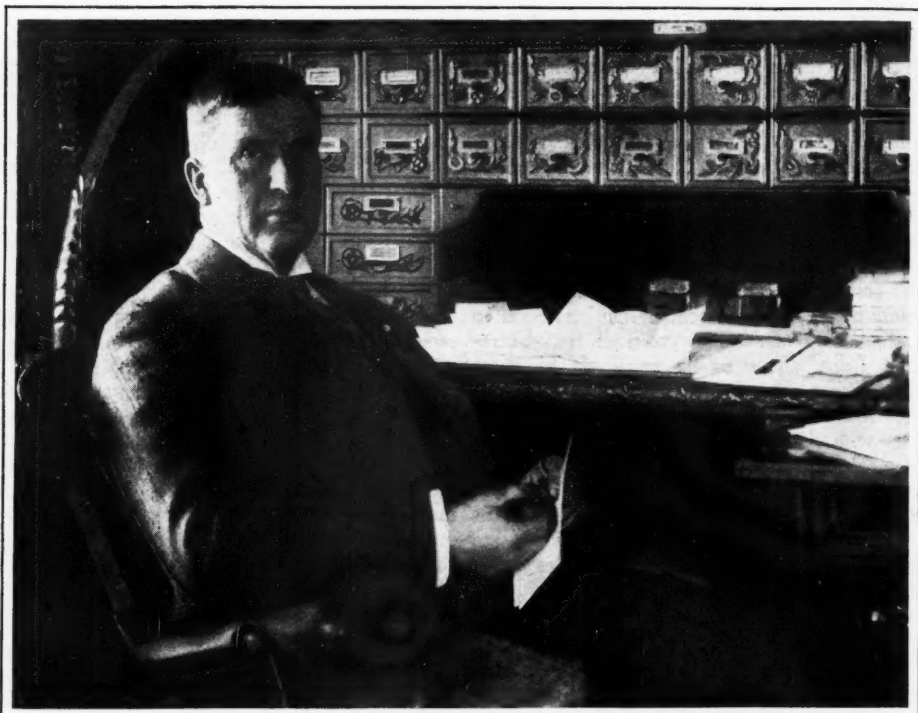
As the national government has to deal with 300,000 Indians, so each one of our State governments is concerned with the care of a great group of outlawed citizens,—those convicted of crimes against the State. Ordinarily the appointment of a warden of Sing Sing Prison in New York State would not be regarded as a matter of national consequence. But nothing that has recently occurred in the public affairs of the Empire State has occasioned more comment than the selection of Mr. Thomas Mott Osborne as warden of what is everywhere recognized as one of the most disgraceful State prisons in the country. It is because Sing Sing is known to be a failure as a penal institution and because Mr. Osborne is known to be one of the most advanced of prison reformers, that there was a general curiosity, last month, to see what would happen when he assumed his new duties. So far as externals go, Mr. Osborne would be the first to admit that Sing Sing Prison is indeed beyond hope of redemption. The buildings are old, insanitary, and unfit for human habitation. The damp and crowded cells breed tuberculosis, and released convicts going out from them to mingle with the outside world will be a menace to the community's health as long as they are permitted to exist. The old buildings must be torn down and Warden Osborne will ask the legislature for the means to build new.

*A Prison
Reformer*

But Mr. Osborne has his own interpretation of the old line, "Stone walls do not a prison make." He believes that the real prison is the body of men confined within the walls, and for many years he has held certain principles on which he believes that our entire prison system should be reconstructed. One of these principles is that the end of prison confinement is not punishment, but temporary exile from society until the offender has shown by his conduct that he is fit to return. Another of Mr. Osborne's principles is that society, instead of branding a man as a criminal, should aim solely to reform the mental conditions under which a criminal act has been committed. Keeping in mind all the time the life of the convict after he returns to society, Mr. Osborne insists that within the prison every inmate must have as much individual freedom as practicable, since it is only by possessing some measure of freedom that a man can be fitted for liberty after he leaves the prison.

*Convict
Self-
Government*

On assuming the wardenship, Mr. Osborne encouraged the prisoners at Sing Sing to request such changes in the prison management as they deemed practicable and consistent with the discipline of the institution. Through a committee they preferred fifteen such requests, thirteen of which the new warden granted immediately, while the others he held for further consideration. Most of these requests were for minor changes which would tend to make prison life pleasanter, but one went farther than these in asking that the executive committee of the Golden Rule Brotherhood, consisting of convicts, shall sit upon cases of minor infraction of rules and mete out penalties. This committee will be constituted as a court with a sergeant-at-arms to procure the attendance of convicts, and there will be the right of appeal to the warden's court. The Brotherhood court may warn and caution the convict or may suspend him from the privileges of the Brotherhood. Warden Osborne granted this request for self-government on the ground that the increased responsibility of the convicts would tend towards better conditions in the prison. He has himself been a diligent student of prison conditions, and, not content with what he had learned from the outside, he became a voluntary inmate of Auburn prison for one week, and during that time was subjected to the discipline of the institution. Scores of con-



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A PRISON WARDEN OF AN UNUSUAL TYPE, THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE, PHILANTHROPIST AND MAN OF AFFAIRS, NOW AT THE HEAD OF SING SING PRISON

victs have made him their confidant, and in his knowledge of the human aspects of convict life few prison wardens of the country have the advantage of Mr. Osborne. His appointment at Sing Sing was made by Governor Glynn with the assurance of Governor Whitman's approbation and support.

The Largest Cotton Crop

The final Government report on the cotton crop of the year puts the total at 16,596,000 bales, including "linters," the short staple cotton which adheres to the seed in ginning and which is afterwards removed by special machinery. This is the largest crop of cotton ever grown in the United States. It compares with 14,800,000 bales last year, 14,300,000 bales in 1912, and with the previous high record in 1911 of 16,250,000 bales. The comparative size of the crop is still better shown by citing the average yield of the five years to 1912, this average annual crop yield being 13,450,000 bales. Although this is, then, the greatest quantity of cotton ever raised in America, its value to the planters is much less this year than the value of the crop in 1913. Last year the crop was

worth, at the higher prices, \$887,000,000. This year, based on the average price of 6.8 cents per pound reported on December 1, the crop is worth \$519,000,000. This enormous falling off in the revenues of the Southern planters is, of course, due to the double influence of the great crop and the sudden contraction in demand from foreign countries, owing to the European War. The consumption of cotton outside of America is estimated to be 10,000,000 bales annually, of which no less than 7,000,000 bales is obtained from the United States. The official announcement of the size of the crop had no important influences on the price of the staple, which dropped but a few points below 7 cents.

Relief for the Planters

Plans for advancing money to the cotton planters on their holdings have been completed and a fund of \$100,000,000 is assured through subscriptions from the banks of the country. A cotton planter holding a certain number of bales, and desiring to hold them longer rather than sell at the present depressed prices, can go to his local bank and borrow

money on his bales, which the bank will value for that purpose at 6 cents per pound. The farmer can get in cash, however, only 5 cents a pound, thus leaving a margin of security to the bank of 20 per cent. The farmer may keep the money thus borrowed for one year and he pays 6 per cent. interest on it. The loan may be extended for six months further at the discretion of the commission in charge, which is composed of the members of the Federal Reserve Board.

Where the Money Comes From Of the 5 cents paid out by the local bank as a loan on each pound of cotton, $3\frac{3}{4}$ cents come from the banks of the North and West who have subscribed to the \$100,000,000 fund; $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents, or 25 per cent. of the loan, are furnished by the local bank which deals directly with the farmer. It is not thought that the entire fund will be drawn on, but it is hoped that the loans may relieve many cases of necessity, and at the same time operate to diminish the effect of forced selling by needy planters in holding the price of the commodity to abnormally low figures. The increasing volume of export business in cotton seen in the last six weeks and the general determination of the Southern planters to curtail the cotton acreage next year should aid in gradually bringing this present

ruinous price of cotton closer to the average cost of production, estimated by the cotton growers to be about ten cents a pound.

Reopening of the New York Stock Exchange

On December 12 the New York Stock Exchange reopened, after having been closed for 111 days, very much the longest period of suspension in the history of the institution. Many factors had, in the weeks preceding the reopening, operated to produce an atmosphere of renewed confidence and hope in financial circles. (1) The successful installation of the Federal Reserve Bank System; (2) the increase in export trade, following the partial clearing of the international exchange situation; (3) the widely spread rumor,—justified within a week,—that the Interstate Commerce Commission would grant the request of the Eastern railroads for a 5 per cent. increase in freight rates, and (4) an inevitable reaction from the general dismal mood of the previous four months, combined to bring many demonstrations of enthusiasm over the resumption of stock and bond trading. It is to be noted that under the rules of the reopening sales could not be made at prices below certain minimums, which followed closely the line of prices established on July 30, the day before the closing of the Exchange. In the first few



THIS WESTERN SCENE,—A FARMER CUTTING ENSILAGE CORN,—SUGGESTS THE ONE REMEDY FOR TOO MUCH COTTON



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REOPENING OF THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE

(An interior view of the Exchange when it opened again for business on December 12, after having been closed since July 30 on account of the European War)

days trading was also limited to certain issues. But, at any rate, there was little sign of the flood of selling from European security holders, the fear of which had hung like a nightmare over the spirits of Wall Street since the beginning of the war. After rapid advances in the prices of securities through the first three days of business, the market quieted and there was a decided reaction which, however, left average prices well above the quotations of July 30.

Railroad Revenues Still Falling Off

Statistics made available in December showed that the financial operative situation of the railroads all over the United States was very serious. Comparing October, 1914, with October of the previous year, which was itself a lean enough period for the railroads, there was a great falling off in gross revenues and a corresponding cut in expenses, which brought the net income of the two periods close together. It is well known, however, in well-informed quarters that these economies were enforced and were unfortunate, both from the standpoint of the roads and the standpoint of the public, tending toward a skimping of service and deterioration of plant. For November the principal roads in the United States and Canada, from which reports have been received, show a loss of gross revenues of no less than 20 per cent. from November of

1913. It is true that the roads of the United States did not do so badly as their Canadian neighbors, the Canadian Pacific Railroad alone reporting a decrease of 40 per cent. Yet our own losses are large and general. They are not confined to the Southern roads, where the low price of cotton and the loss of a large portion of the export business must have led to the presumption of poor railroad results. With the grain-carrying systems, even in this year of splendid wheat and corn crops, the earnings are almost as bad as with the Southern roads.

The Railroads Get Their Rate Increase

On December 18 the Interstate Commerce Commission announced its decision granting 5 per cent. increase in freight rates to the Eastern railroads. One hundred and twenty-five roads will benefit by the increased rates, the total added revenue being estimated at \$50,000,000. The higher rates may be put into effect by the roads on or after December 28. The Commission ruled that rates on coal, coke, iron ore, and those in "lake-and-rail" shipments, should be excepted from the increase and remain as they are. In the anxiously awaited report, from which Commissioners Harlan and Clements dissented, it was frankly admitted that the estimates of the carriers' income upon which the previous refusal had been based, were in error, as shown by the yearly reports of operations

published in the last three months, and by the current monthly earnings statements made since the close of the fiscal year on June 30. The decision finds that in the year ending June, 1914, the railroads lost no less than 17.7 per cent. of net income as compared with 1913, and that their income was less than in any other year since 1908. The Commission also recognizes the force of the arguments based on the higher cost of the capital that must be used by the roads in vast amounts to improve and extend their plants in step with the growth of the United States. It is also true, though not noted in the report, that the railroad revenues, shown to be less in 1914, than in any year since 1908, had in the later year to pay interest on a very much larger outlay of capital than had been invested in 1908.

*Will Five
Per Cent.
Be Enough?*

The rehearing of the rate-increase question which is now decided, was requested by the railroads on September 19, after several of the most prominent railroad presidents had called on President Wilson and made a very forcible exposition of their plight. The Interstate Commerce Commission gave thirty days to shippers and railroads to prepare their arguments, and the hearings were begun on October 19. Since September numerous roads have reduced or passed their dividends; in December two of the strongest systems in the country, financially,—the Atlantic Coast Line and the Louisville & Nashville,—reduced their annual dividend rates from 7 to 5 per cent.

*The Rate
Question in
Australia*

With such a situation confronting our great railroad industry, it is interesting to hear that the government-owned railroads of New South Wales have recently increased freight rates 10 per cent. and passenger rates from 5 to 50 per cent., and it is also instructive to learn that before these radical increases the rates of the Australian railroads were decidedly higher than our own tariffs. It has become increasingly clear that, if the American railroads are to give the service which the public ought to have, and are to obtain the money necessary to maintain their plants and make the requisite extensions, the shippers and traveling public will have to pay higher freight and passenger rates.

*Some Notes
Regarding
the War*

Our readers will find in this number another instalment of Mr. Simonds' comprehensive survey of the operations of the armies in the great war. This article has been carefully revised up to the 22nd of December, but it cannot of course reckon with the possibility of important changes in the closing days of the year. There was in no quarter any sign pointing to an early ending of the titanic struggle. The raid of German ships upon the Yorkshire coast only served to stimulate the energies of the whole British Empire. Our editorial views as respects the situation in many of its aspects are entirely in accord with those of Mr. Simonds. England's announcement of a protectorate over Egypt and the elimination of Turkey was merely an expected formality. Italy, with increasing accord, maintains the advantageous neutrality that has been fully analyzed and explained in this REVIEW from month to month. Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, through their Kings and prime ministers, have conferred together and agreed upon close and harmonious action in defense of their common interests as neutrals. American relief has continued to flow to Belgium, where there is some sign of increased resumption of commerce and industry. In spite of the war, Germany seems to be carrying on her usual industrial activities with unexpected vigor. The winter conditions under which the war is being fought are most interestingly described in this number by Mr. Talman, of the Weather Bureau at Washington. The remarkable personality of the chief Russian military leaders, and their plans and achievements thus far, are described by Mr. Charles Johnston, who writes from personal acquaintance as well as thorough study.

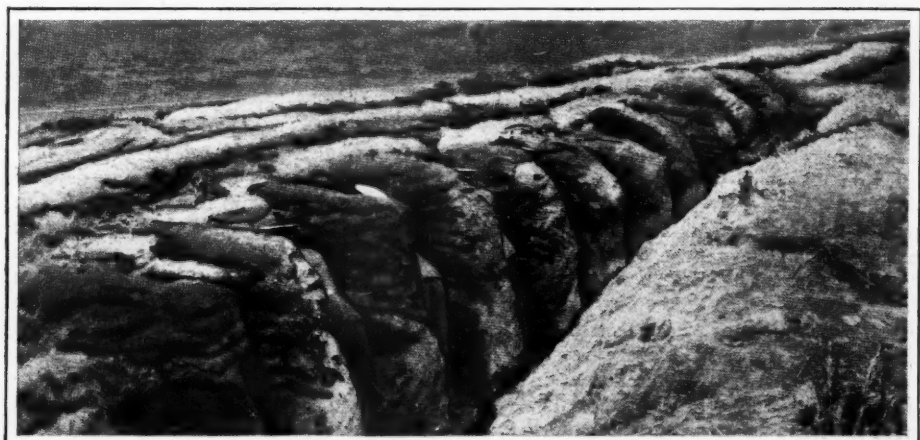


"THE LORD LOVETH A CHEERFUL GIVER"
From the Tribune (New York)

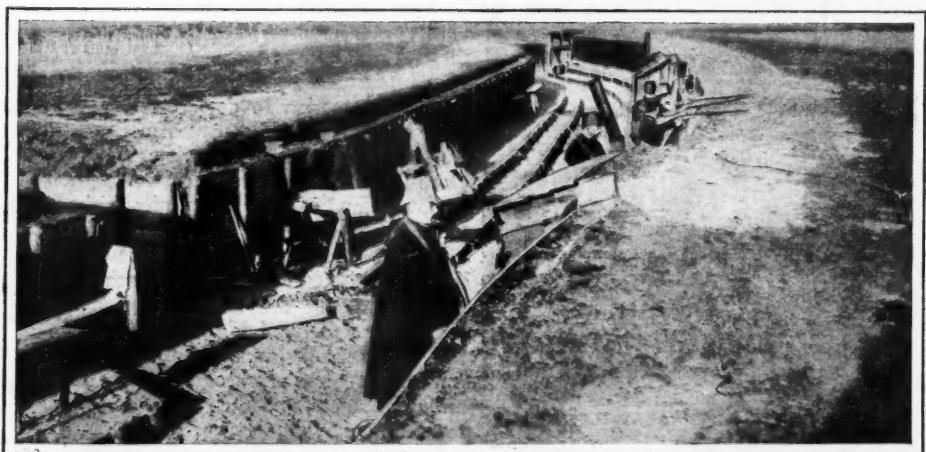
LIFE IN THE TRENCHES WITH



BOMB-PROOF UNDERGROUND QUARTERS OF GERMAN OFFICERS AT A POINT IN THE ARDENNES FOREST



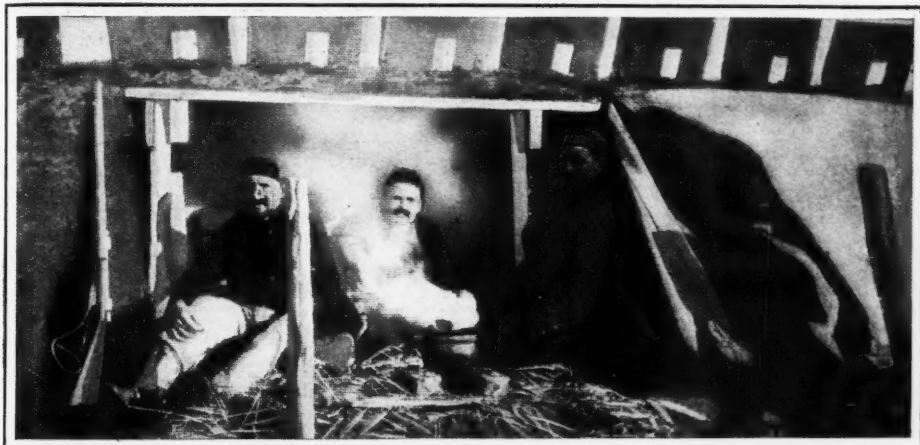
BRITISH TRENCHES THAT HAVE AROUSED THE ADMIRATION OF THE GERMANS: LATERAL INDIVIDUAL TRENCHES ARE DUG AT RIGHT ANGLES TO THE MAIN TRENCH, PROTECTING AGAINST FLANK-FIRE



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GERMAN TRENCHES, BUILT WITH STOCKADE WALLS, WITH AMPLE ROOM INSIDE

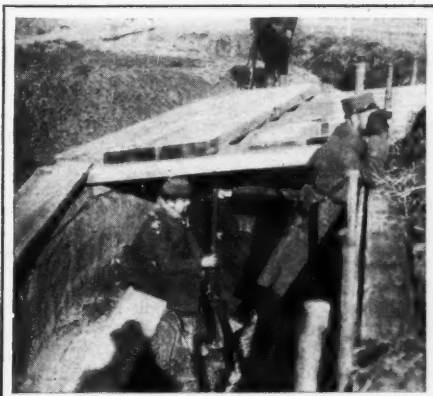
THE GERMANS AND THE ALLIES



FRENCH SOLDIERS TRYING TO KEEP WARM IN THEIR DUGOUT



THE NECESSARY TELEPHONE MUST BE INSTALLED
EVEN IN THE TRENCHES

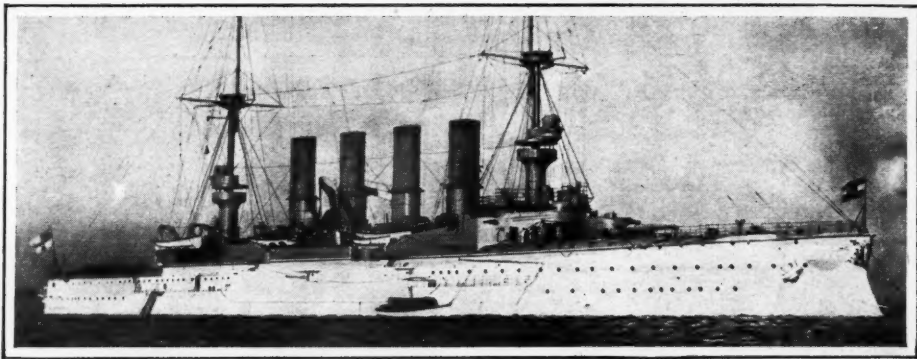


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A TRENCH WITH A BOARDED ROOF



HOT SHOWER-BATHS ON THE FIRING LINE—THE INGENIOUS SCHEME OF A FRENCH ENGINEER



Photograph by the American Press Association, New York

THE GERMAN CRUISER "SCHARNHORST", FLAGSHIP OF ADMIRAL VON SPEE

(The *Scharnhorst* was one of four German cruisers sunk in the South Atlantic on December 8, during an engagement with a powerful British fleet. The British ships, under Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Sturdee, had been recently dispatched from England to supplement other British, French, Russian, and Japanese vessels in a determined effort to destroy the German fleet and avenge the sinking of two British warships on November 1.)

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From November 23 to December 21, 1914)

The Last Week of November

November 23.—The German submarine *U-18* is rammed and sunk off the north coast of Scotland by a patrolling British warship.

British warships bombard the Belgian port of Zeebrugge with their big guns and destroy a submarine base which the Germans were establishing there; it is believed that six submarines are demolished.

The British Admiralty announces that three British aviators flew 125 miles across German territory to Friedrichshafen, on November 21, and damaged the Zeppelin shops there; two returned safely, but the third was brought down and captured.

November 24.—The Portuguese Parliament unanimously decides that Portugal shall enter the war, as soon as expedient, in accordance with her alliance with England.

Russia officially reports that the German army invading Poland has begun a retreat.

November 25.—An official German newspaper statement indicates that 4,000,000 men are in the German armies.

An official British statement places the losses in the British Navy at 4327 killed and 3014 wounded, missing, and taken prisoners.

November 26.—The British battleship *Bulwark* is literally blown to pieces at the mouth of the Thames, with a loss of 800 officers and men; the cause of the explosion is unknown, but it is believed to have originated in the magazine.

It is officially announced at Rome that Turkey has assured Italy that she will not interfere with navigation through the Suez Canal.

November 27.—The British Chancellor of the Exchequer announces that the \$1,750,000,000 war loan has been oversubscribed.

The British House of Commons adjourns until February 2.

Reports of the great battle in Russian Poland indicate that the invading German army has been broken into three parts.

The Sultan of Turkey and twenty-eight Moslem priests issue a proclamation calling upon

the Moslem world (according to a Constantinople report) to join in a holy war against Great Britain, Russia, and France.

November 29.—A French report states that Germany has paid Luxemburg an indemnity of \$37,500 (being actual damage to crops and fields) for marching troops across her neutral territory at the beginning of the war.

November 30.—An official Russian statement claims that 50,000 Austro-Hungarian soldiers were captured during the first week of November.

The First Week of December

December 1.—Attention is drawn to the fact that the rulers of five warring nations are on the battle lines; King George, King Albert, and President Poincaré are in northern France and Belgium, and Emperor William and Czar Nicholas are at the Russo-German front.

General De Wet, leader of the rebellion in South Africa against British rule, is captured by loyal troops, and the rebellion is virtually at an end.

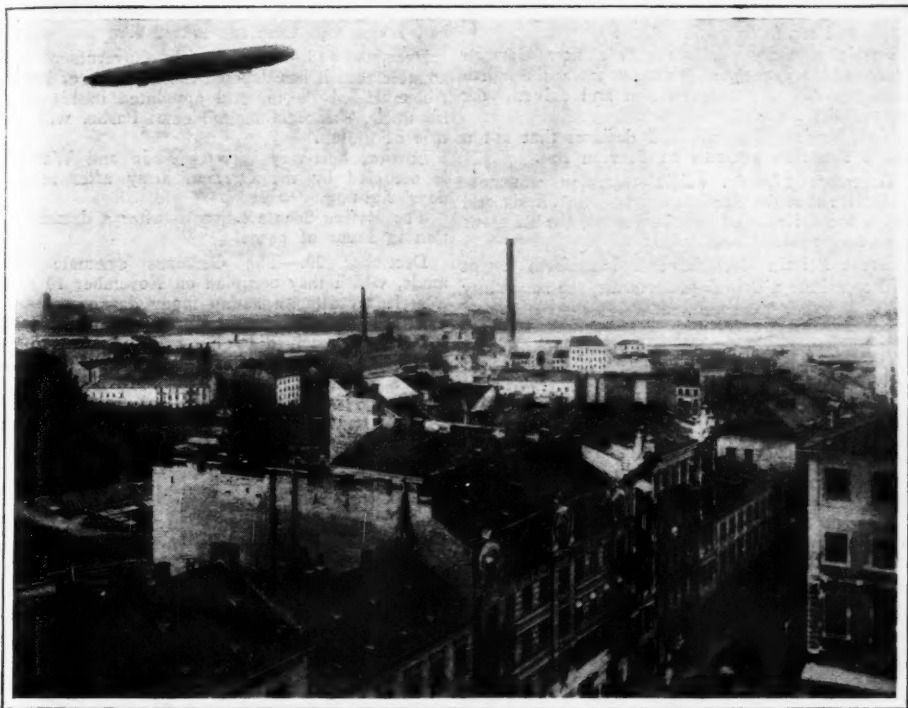
December 2.—Austrian troops capture the Serbian city of Belgrade, which had been attacked almost without interruption since July 29.

At the opening of the second war session of the Reichstag a new war credit of \$1,250,000,000 is voted with but one member (Herr Liebknecht, the Socialist leader) in opposition.

An official German statement claims that 80,000 Russian soldiers were captured during engagements in Poland from November 11 to December 1.

It is reported at Petrograd that General Rennenkampf, the noted Russian cavalry leader, has been relieved of his command,—the late arrival of his forces at an agreed point being the cause, it is alleged, of the failure of the Russian armies to surround the German army invading Poland.

December 3.—The opening of the Italian Parliament is attended by demonstrations over allusions to Italy's aspirations in respect of the former Italian territory in Austria, and to the plight of Belgium; but the address of Premier Salandra implies continued neutrality for a time at least.



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A GERMAN ZEPPELIN AIRSHIP FLYING OVER WARSAW

(Russian Poland continued to be the principal theater of war last month, and the German invading armies had succeeded, by December 31, in reaching a point within forty miles of Warsaw, the principal city and seat of government. The illustration shows graphically the part which aircraft play in modern war, in locating forts and bodies of troops. The two chief cities of the Polish people are Warsaw and Cracow—the first in Russia, and the second in Austria. While Germans have been trying to take Warsaw, the Russians have been trying to take Cracow, on the Vistula—for a good picture of which see page 53, in connection with Mr. Simonds' article on "The Course of the War in December")

December 4.—Indications at the extreme ends of the fighting line,—in Belgium and in Alsace-Lorraine,—point to a resumption of the offensive by the Allies; it is understood that they have been reinforced in Belgium by additional troops from England, and that the German strength has been diminished by the transfer of troops to the Russian battleground.

December 5.—French artillery fire forces the Germans to evacuate Vermelles, a French town near the Belgian frontier.

The Serbian and Portuguese cabinets resign.

December 6.—One of the German armies invading Russian Poland, heavily reinforced, advances and compels the Russians to evacuate the important city of Lodz after a bombardment lasting several days.

King Nicholas of Montenegro states that a third of his army has fallen on the battlefield.

A Danish report states that the second line of the German landsturm (untrained men between the ages of 17 and 45, and trained men between 39 and 45) has been called to the colors.

The Second Week of December

December 8.—A powerful British squadron under Vice-Admiral Sir Frederick Sturdee, in the South Atlantic near the Falkland Islands, engages

and destroys the German fleet which had sunk three British warships on November 1; the *Scharnhorst*, *Gneisenau*, *Nürnberg*, and *Leipzig* are sunk with a loss of approximately 2000 lives; the *Dresden* escapes.

The Serbian army inflicts a severe defeat upon the invading Austrians, reoccupying Valjevo and taking more than 10,000 prisoners.

December 11.—President Poincaré meets with his cabinet in council at Paris for the first time since the seat of government was moved to Bordeaux, on September 3.

December 13.—The British submarine *B-11*, passing under mine fields, enters the Dardanelles and torpedoes and sinks the Turkish battleship *Messudieh*.

The Third Week of December

December 14.—The vigorous offensive movement of the Serbian army forces a general retirement of the Austrians, culminating in the evacuation of Belgrade.

December 16.—A fleet of six or more German cruisers appears off the east coast of England and bombards the cities of Scarborough, Hartlepool, and Whitby; more than a hundred persons are killed and many others injured; the German

warships soon withdraw, elude British pursuing ships, and return to home waters.

Russia officially declares that a new German army advancing upon Warsaw from the north has been defeated near Mława and driven back toward the frontier.

The Servian General Staff declares that not a single Austrian remains on Servian soil.

December 17.—An official German statement maintains that the Russian offensive in Silesia and Posen has failed, and that in Poland the Russians are being pursued everywhere.

Great Britain declares that henceforth Egypt will constitute a British protectorate, the suzerainty of Turkey being terminated.

Russia announces that the German cruiser *Friedrich Karl* was sunk during a recent engagement in the Baltic.

The allied troops occupy Westende, on the

Belgian coast, after a bombardment by warships had forced the Germans to retire.

December 18.—The British Government announces that it has deposed the Khedive of Egypt, Abbas Hilmi Pasha, and appointed in his place his uncle, Prince Hussein Kemal Pasha, with the title of Sultan.

Lowicz, half-way between Lodz and Warsaw, is occupied by the German army after several days' fighting.

The Italian Senate adjourns after a demonstration in favor of peace.

December 20.—The Germans evacuate Dixmude, which they occupied on November 10 after a series of attacks lasting many days.

Prince von Buelow, special German ambassador to Italy, is received by King Victor Emmanuel.

A combined Servian and Montenegrin army begins a second invasion of the Austrian province of Bosnia.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From November 22 to December 21, 1914)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 7.—The Sixty-third Congress assembles for the short session. . . . In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) introduces a resolution calling for an investigation of the preparedness of the United States for war.

December 8.—Both branches meet in the House chamber, where the President reads to them his annual message.

December 9.—In the Senate, the Administration's Ship Purchase bill is introduced by Mr. Stone (Dem., Mo.); the House Committee on Naval Affairs questions Rear-Admiral Fletcher, commanding the Atlantic Fleet, on naval preparedness.

December 10-11.—The House Naval Affairs Committee hears Secretary of the Navy Daniels on the policy and efficiency of the navy.

December 14.—In the House, the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill,—the first of the supply measures,—is reported.

December 16.—In the Senate, the Administration's Ship Purchase bill is reported favorably from the Committee on Commerce; the Immigration measure is considered. . . . In the House, the River and Harbor appropriation bill (\$34,000,000) is reported; the Committee on Naval Affairs, questioning Assistant Secretary of the Navy Roosevelt, is told that in his opinion it would require nearly 30,000 additional men to man the ships in case of war.

December 17.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) introduces a measure embodying Secretary Garrison's plan for increasing the army (see page 93).

December 18.—In the House, Mr. Moon (Dem., Tenn.), chairman of the Committee on Post Offices, charges that a railway lobby has been successfully at work to influence members of Congress to readjust rates for carrying mail; the Committee on Naval Affairs holds its final hearing upon matters relating to naval policy and expenditures; Representative Gardner (Rep., Mass.) is the principal witness.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 23.—The Minimum Wage law adopted by the Minnesota legislature in 1913 is declared unconstitutional in the State court at St. Paul.

November 29.—President Wilson names a commission of three (Seth Low, of New York, and Charles W. Mills and Patrick Gilday, of Pennsylvania) to mediate between the Colorado coal operators and the striking miners; the operators had previously rejected the plan.

December 7.—The President announces that he is opposed to a special Congressional inquiry into the national defenses, proposed by Congressman Gardner, but favors an inquiry by the regular committees of Congress.

December 8.—Major-General Wotherspoon, recently retired from the post of Chief of Staff of the United States Army, accepts the position of Superintendent of Public Works in New York State, offered by Governor-elect Whitman.

December 11.—The Kentucky Workmen's Compensation law is declared unconstitutional by the State Court of Appeals.

December 16.—The Federal Commission on Industrial Relations announces that it will investigate the rights, powers, and functions,—as well as the attitude toward industrial questions,—of such philanthropic organizations as the Rockefeller, Carnegie, and Sage Foundations.

December 18.—The Interstate Commerce Commission, in a divided decision, grants the application of the Eastern railroads for a 5 per cent. increase in all-rail freight rates, excepting on coal, coke, and iron ore.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 24.—The Carranza forces under General Blanco withdraw from Mexico City, and the followers of Zapata enter and control the city.

Provisional President Carranza arrives at Vera Cruz with his government officials and employees, intending to establish there his capital and headquarters.

December 3.—General Villa (it is reported) reaches an understanding with General Zapata and enters Mexico City at the head of his troops, accompanied by Provisional President Gutierrez.

December 5.—Juan Isidro Jimenez, chosen President of Santo Domingo in a recent election, takes the oath of office.

December 8.—The National Assembly of Panama ratifies the treaty granting to the United States control of the harbors of Colon and Ancon.

December 13.—A new cabinet is formed in Portugal, under Victor Coutinho, President of the Chamber of Deputies.

December 14.—The new ministry in Portugal fails to obtain a vote of confidence in the Senate, on the ground that it is not sufficiently national for the crisis.

December 18.—G. Motta (Minister of Finance) is elected President of the Swiss Confederation.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

November 23.—The United States troops are withdrawn from Vera Cruz, Mexico, after occupying the city and administering its affairs since April 21; the battleships *Minnesota* and *Texas* remain in the harbor. . . . The United States replies to a query from Germany,—as to the attitude of the United States regarding treatment of contraband by Great Britain and France,—that it does not consider the Declaration of London as binding, some of the belligerent powers having refused to ratify it.

November 26.—The State Department at Washington announces that the Turkish Minister of War has explained satisfactorily the Smyrna incident of November 16; the shot was fired, it is maintained, merely to warn the *Tennessee's* launch away from a mine-field.

December 8.—Secretary of State Bryan and the Diplomatic representatives at Washington of twenty American republics (composing the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union) meet and discuss problems relating to neutral nations as they are affected by the great war; a commission is appointed to investigate and make recommendations.

December 13.—Italy demands immediate reparation from Turkey for the invasion of the Italian consulate at Hodeida, on November 11, and the seizure of the British consul-general, who had sought refuge there.

December 15.—Conditions of warfare in Mexico, across the border, become so menacing to Americans in Naco, Ariz., that the United States cavalry gathered there is materially increased with forces of artillery and infantry, for the second time within seven days.

December 18.—King Haakon of Norway and King Christian of Denmark meet with King Gustave at Malmo, Sweden, to discuss problems of the war affecting the Scandinavian countries.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 23.—The Chicago Stock Exchange opens, trading being restricted to prices not below the closing figures of July 30. . . . Henry Siegel, proprietor of department stores in New York, Chicago, and Boston, is convicted upon a minor charge growing out of the manipulation of the credit of his stores and the funds of the stores' private banks, and is sentenced to pay \$1000 fine and possibly to spend ten months in prison.



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HON. MYRON T. HERRICK, WITH MRS. HERRICK, ON THEIR RETURN FROM FRANCE LAST MONTH

(Mr. Herrick had for the past three years rendered distinguished service as American Ambassador at Paris. His handling of new and delicate responsibilities occasioned by the war won high praise)

November 24.—The steam schooner *Hanalei* breaks in pieces upon Duxbury Reef, near San Francisco; twenty lives are lost.

November 25.—It becomes known that successful tests, under supervision of United States Army officials, have been made of a radio-controlled boat invented by John Hays Hammond, Jr.; the device is applicable to the guiding of a highly charged torpedo.

November 30.—Arbitration is begun at Chicago, by a board appointed under the Newlands Act, of wage-increase demands made by 55,000 locomotive engineers upon ninety-eight Western railroads.

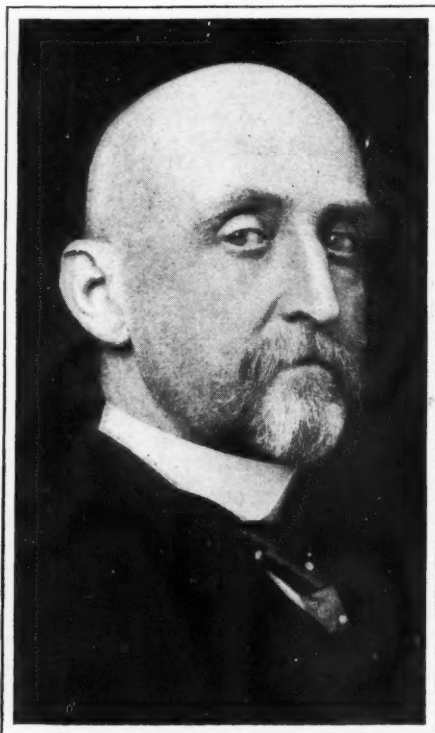
December 7.—The Paris Bourse opens after a suspension of more than three months.

December 8.—The executive board of the United Mine Workers recommends that the strike in the Colorado coal-fields be called off; the strike lasted fourteen months, cost many million dollars, and resulted in the death of sixty-six persons.

December 9.—Fire almost completely destroys the laboratories and factories of Thomas A. Edison, at West Orange, N. J.

December 10.—The Government's report on the cotton crop indicates an unprecedented production of 15,966,000 bales.

December 12.—The New York Stock Exchange begins trading in stocks, with fixed minimum prices; the session closed with an average advance over the closing prices of July 30.



REAR-ADMIRAL ALFRED T. MAHAN

(For many years before his death, last month, Admiral Mahan had been considered one of the world's foremost authorities upon naval matters. His writings upon the influence of sea power are said to have materially affected naval policy not only in the United States but in several European countries. He was graduated from the Naval Academy just before the outbreak of the Civil War, and after thirty-seven years of active service applied for retirement in 1896, in order that he might devote his entire time to study and writing.)

December 14.—Dr. John Henry MacCracken (professor of politics at New York University) is chosen president of Lafayette College.

December 15.—Dr. Henry N. MacCracken (professor of English at Smith College) is chosen president of Vassar.

OBITUARY

November 21.—Vinnie Ream Hoxie, sculptor, 67.

November 24.—Cardinal Aristide Cavallari, Patriarch of Venice, 64.

November 25.—Col. Robert B. Beath, Past Commander-in-Chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, 75. . . . Dr. Clinton Wagner, a noted throat specialist of New York City, 75.

November 26.—Dr. James Truman, former dean of the dental department of the University of Pennsylvania, 88.

November 27.—Rear-Admiral Wells L. Field, U.S.N., retired, 68. . . . Col. George Walter Dunn, for many years prominent in Republican politics in New York State, 74.

November 28.—Marquis Visconti-Venosta, the noted Italian statesman and diplomat, 85.

November 29.—Charles J. Canda, for many years treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, 76.

November 30.—Lucius Tuttle, former president of the Boston & Maine Railroad, 68.

December 1.—Rear-Admiral Alfred Thayer Mahan, U.S.N., retired, the famous writer on naval affairs, 74. . . . J. Borden Harriman, a prominent New York banker, 50.

December 2.—Henry William Banks Davis, the English painter, 81.

December 3.—Dr. Alexander Campbell Fraser, professor emeritus of logic and metaphysics at Edinburgh University, 95. . . . Sir John Henry Crichton (Earl of Erne), Grand Master of Orangemen in Ireland, 75.

December 4.—Edwin A. Merritt, Jr., Representative in Congress and former Speaker of the New York Assembly, 54. . . . J. Foster Wilkin, Justice of the Ohio Supreme Court, 61.

December 5.—Cardinal Angelo di Pietro, doyen of the Sacred College, 86. . . . Agnes Irwin, first dean of Radcliffe College, 73. . . . Frank Rice, former Secretary of State in New York, and a prominent attorney, 70.

December 6.—Daniel Bendann, a famous old-time Baltimore photographer, 79.

December 7.—Madison Julius Cawein, poet, 49.

December 8.—William W. Rockhill, the distinguished American diplomat, 60. . . . Charles A. Moore, a prominent New York manufacturer of railway and machinists' tools, 68.

December 10.—Serenio Elisha Payne, oldest member of the House of Representatives in point of service, and author of the tariff law of 1909, 71. . . . Joseph Smith, President of the Reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints, 82.

December 11.—Rear-Admiral Eugene Winslow Watson, U.S.N., retired, 71. . . . Richard A. Canfield, the gambler, 59.

December 13.—Major-Gen. Sir Edward Yewd Brabant, the British cavalry leader who won distinction in the Boer War, 75. . . . Dr. Charles Perier, president of the French Academy of Medicine, 78.

December 14.—Giovanni Sgambati, the Italian pianist and composer, 71. . . . Gen. José de J. Monteagudo, commander-in-chief of the Cuban army. . . . Katherine M. Cohen, a well-known sculptor, 55. . . . Rev. Christopher A. MacEvoy, former president of Villanova College, 74.

December 15.—Bart Johannes Blommers, president of the Dutch Academy of Painters, 69. . . . Col. Edward Daniel Meier, a noted mechanical engineer of New York. . . . Major-Gen. George Breckinridge Davis, U.S.A., retired, 67.

December 16.—Dr. Winfield S. Smith, professor of surgery at the Boston Medical School, 53.

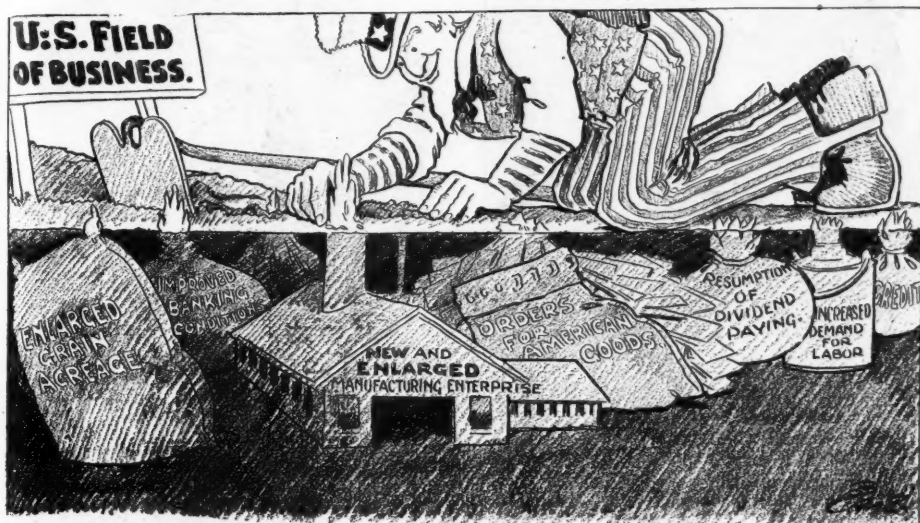
December 17.—Brig.-Gen. John Vincent Furey, U.S.A., retired, 75.

December 18.—Archibald R. Colquhoun, the British traveler and author, 66.

December 19.—Rev. Richard Heber Newton, a distinguished New York clergyman, 74. . . . Lee McClung, recently Treasurer of the United States, 44.

December 20.—Eugene Zimmerman, the Cincinnati railroad financier, 68. . . . Brig.-Gen. Charles Morton, U.S.A., retired, 68.

SOME CARTOONS ON BUSINESS AND CONGRESSIONAL AFFAIRS



THE HOPEFUL "UNDERTONE"

From the Journal (Minneapolis)

AFTER a long siege of business depression, there are not lacking signs of improvement. As the financiers put it, there is a decidedly hopeful "undertone." Also,

the New York Stock Exchange has reopened for business, after its months of discontinuance, and the Interstate Commerce Commission has granted a long-desired increase of rates to the railroads.



DISSIPATING THE CHILL

From the Evening News (Newark)



HOORAY, THE STOCK EXCHANGE REOPENS!

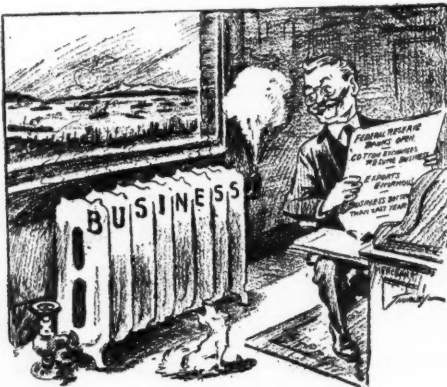
From the Record (Philadelphia)



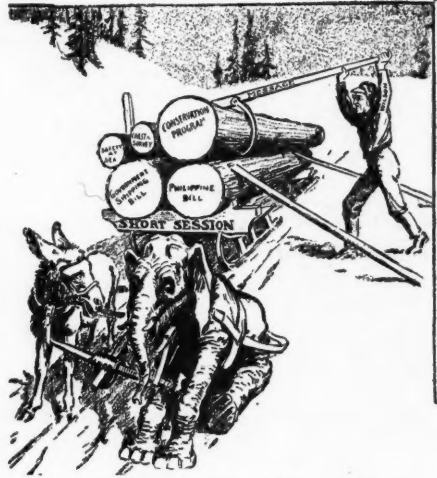
THIN ICE—A REDUCED DEMOCRATIC MAJORITY
From the *Journal* (Minneapolis)



WAR TAXES,—A BITTER PILL
From the *News-Tribune* (Duluth)



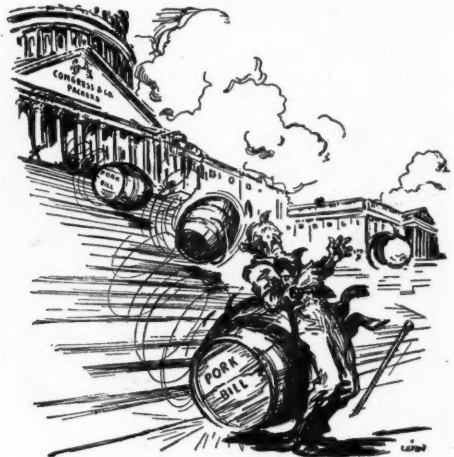
THAT CHEERFUL SOUND
From the *Post-Intelligencer* (Seattle)



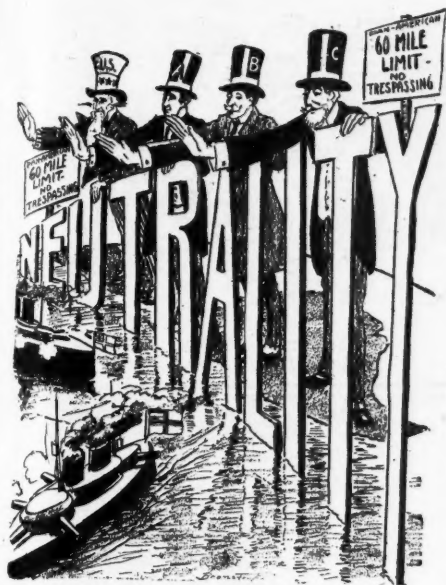
PULL, REPUBLICAN PARTY, PULL
From the *Evening News* (Newark)



JUST HOW YOUR UNCLE SAMUEL FEELS ABOUT IT
From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



IT'S ONLY POOR OLD UNCLE SAM
From the *Sun* (New York)



PLAY IN YOUR OWN BACK YARD

(The American nations, to the warring countries of Europe). From the *Chronicle* (San Francisco)

The characteristic Chinese cartoon reproduced below appeared on October 10, the anniversary of the Wuchang rebellion. The old man represents China, and the divisions marked off by dotted lines are labeled "First Year," "Second Year," and "Third Year" [of the Chinese Republic]. The Chinese Republic has already surmounted several hills in its national progress, and in the cartoon is seen approaching the largest, representing the present world war. The descent that follows signifies the easy path ahead of China if this peak is successfully scaled. The man's black hair typifies the black-haired Chinese peoples unified in the Republic.



UNCLE SAM TO VERA CRUZ: "SO LONG,—TAKE CARE OF YOURSELF!"

From the *Tribune* (Los Angeles)



THE INNOCENT BYSTANDER

From the *Inquirer* (Philadelphia)



A NATION'S DIFFICULT PATH

From the *Eastern Times* (Shanghai)

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE

A MESSAGE FROM SENATOR ROOT

[No living statesman, according to the opinion of Europe and America, has done more in practical ways to promote the cause of peace than Elihu Root, to whom was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1912. As a member of the cabinet in the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations, Mr. Root led in the task of bringing peace and order into the governments of Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines. As Secretary of State, he and Ambassador Bryce cleared away a number of outstanding questions between the United States and Great Britain, some of them relating to Canada. His sympathetic and broad-minded view of Western Hemisphere affairs greatly promoted good will between the United States and the republics of South America. He is soon to retire from the United States Senate, but remains a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. He will also continue as president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.—THE EDITOR.]

December 10, 1914.

MY DEAR DOCTOR SHAW:

I UNDERSTAND that the proposed celebration of the hundred years of peace is to be postponed because, at the very time when we should be celebrating, nearly all of Europe and much of Asia and Africa are engaged in the most tremendous war ever known.

The coincidence recalls De Tocqueville's criticism upon democracies. He said:

Foreign politics demand scarcely any of those qualities which a democracy possesses; and they require, on the contrary, the perfect use of almost all those faculties in which it is deficient. . . . A democracy is unable to regulate the details of an important undertaking, to persevere in a design, and to work out its execution in the presence of serious obstacles. It cannot combine its measures with secrecy, and will not await their consequences with patience. These are qualities which more especially belong to an individual or to an aristocracy; and they are precisely the means by which an individual people attains a predominant position.

The eighty years which have passed since De Tocqueville wrote have witnessed a great development of democratic government and much-increased opportunity to judge of its strength and weakness.

WAR BELONGS TO AUTOCRACIES

It seems now that the very qualities of monarchical or aristocratic government which De Tocqueville assumed to be necessary for the conduct of foreign affairs tend to make continually recurring wars inevitable, while the deficiencies which De Tocqueville ascribed to democratic government tend towards the preservation of peace.

Of course, the difficulties of international relations in Europe are vastly greater than in

America, yet there is enough similarity to make a comparison suggestive.

NORTH AMERICAN AMITY

Between the Atlantic and the Pacific we have two peoples living under essentially democratic government, stretching along more than three thousand miles of boundary, and maintaining peace for a hundred years notwithstanding many serious causes of controversy, such, for instance, as the Northeastern Boundary, the Oregon Boundary, the Alaskan Boundary, the Fenian Disturbances, the Caroline Affair, the Fisheries Disputes. An examination of their history shows that what De Tocqueville said of democracies was true of both these countries, and that neither country had any particular policy. Neither was seeking to "attain a predominant position" through "an important undertaking," through "persevering in design," or "combining measures with secrecy." Both peoples were going on attending to their own business, pressing forward their production and trade and means of self-improvement, each getting very angry with the other at times and getting over it again, but neither of them really having anything which would be called a foreign policy in the European sense.

"POLICIES" NOT DEMOCRATIC

On the other side of the Atlantic have been all the qualities which De Tocqueville ascribes to "an individual or an aristocracy"; definite governmental policies persisting from generation to generation, "perseverance in design," "measures combined with secrecy" as "means for individual peoples to attain predominant positions." The most strenuous efforts towards conciliation, good under-

standing, kindly feeling, between nations have failed to penetrate beneath the surface of things, dispel national suspicions of each other's designs, or prevent the working out of these different policies into inevitable war.

The contrast tends to show that democratic government, for the very reason that it has no specific and persistent foreign policies, is more favorable to peace than the old system of government.

It is true that democracy brews its own dangers. Popular prejudice, misunderstanding, excited feeling, impulse, are all liable

to threaten peace in a democracy; but they can be dealt with by education, discussion, exposure of the truth, while the qualities of self-restraint and considerate judgment, which are essential to the successful self-government of a democracy, are precisely the qualities which are needed for the maintenance of international peace; so that, as a people grows more competent to govern itself, it more naturally and readily keeps the peace with its neighbors.

Very sincerely yours,

ELIHU ROOT.

U. S. Senate, Washington.

AMERICA'S FUTURE POSITION

A MESSAGE FROM HON. JOSEPH H. CHOATE

[Mr. Choate, whose mature wisdom makes him one of the most valued of our "elder statesmen," has for a year or two past taken a leading part in the conferences with English and Canadian leaders in plans for celebrating the hundred years of peace. He was chairman of the American delegation at the last Hague Conference, and for six years American Ambassador at London. He is an officer of the Society for the Judicial Settlement of International Disputes, and a great authority in constitutional and international law. He is a "pacifist," but not too sanguine in his view of the practical processes of history.—THE EDITOR.]

December 11, 1914.

MY DEAR MR. SHAW:

I GLADLY avail myself of your kind request that I should say a few words to your great company of readers about the hundred years of peace between all the English-speaking peoples of the world, which will be completed on Christmas Eve with the centennial of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent on December 24, 1814.

It is a source of deep regret to the Committee of Arrangements that the awful war, now devastating Europe, has prevented the carrying out at this time of the program which it had arranged for this celebration both in England and in America; but I hope that at the least, on days to be fixed by agreement between the committees in the United States, Great Britain, and Canada, suitable services commemorative of this great event will take place in the churches and schools of all three nations, so that it will be brought home to the hearts of all the people.

In common with many other short-sighted people, I had hoped and believed, until the outbreak of this war, that we should have no more wars between great nations, although it was hardly to be expected that conflicts

between great nations and small ones, which the former were greedy to overwhelm or absorb, would never occur again.

But it seems now that civilization has as yet hardly begun to eradicate the fighting spirit in man. For certainly the peoples of Germany, Belgium, France, Great Britain, Austria, and Russia together contain the last results of civilization; and yet they are fighting, day by day, some with good motives and some with bad, but all with the most savage desperation and desire to destroy each other.

OUR OPPORTUNITY

Still, I am not without hope that out of this terrible torrent of evil and mutual massacre good will come in the end, and in a way to justify the hopes of the pacifists, of whom I am proud to be one. If we can maintain our neutrality and keep out of this war and at the same time prove ourselves friendly to all the nations engaged in it,—as I think we shall under the wise and prudent conduct of President Wilson,—the United States will, I believe, not only be called into consultation by the warring nations, when they are no longer able to keep up the fight, but will practically be

able to dictate the terms of peace between them, one of which must, if possible, be an effectual guarantee against any future outbreak of the horrible spirit of militarism which has caused the present war.

And I am encouraged in this belief by reading the recent Message of President Wilson and the Annual Reports of the Secretaries of War and of the Navy, which, taken together, appear to show a steadfast determination on the part of our Federal Government to have us prepared always for effectual self-defense, which is a necessary condition of our national existence.

DEFENSE MEASURES NECESSARY

A strong and increasingly strong navy, adequate to the defense of our enormous seacoast, of the Panama Canal, of our coast-wise and rapidly growing foreign commerce, and of the great cities on the seaboard, seems to be assured. Exactly how President Wilson's suggestion of a well-equipped and efficient militia is to be arranged between the Federal and State Governments does not appear, but it ought to be so arranged that every young man, somewhere between the ages of seventeen and twenty-one, shall be so trained as to be well developed physically and to learn to shoot, which,—as Lord Roberts said,—was a fundamental necessity, so that, if necessary for the defense of a nation, they could at short notice be converted into soldiers. How this is to be done I do not know, but certainly it must be done if we would be safe from attack. For any other great nation will have at any time just as much cause for attacking us as Germany had for attacking Belgium. If we thus stand in the position of a mighty nation, always ready to defend itself and never willing to attack any other nation, we shall be able to speak with authority when the long-postponed day of possible peace shall come.

AMERICA'S INFLUENCE FOR PEACE

It is a mistake to suppose that there is any mania for militarism among our people. They want nothing but peace; but they do want and will insist upon our being ready to defend ourselves if attacked.

On these conditions I feel sure that we may count upon another hundred years of lasting peace between all the English-speaking peoples, and also on a more effectual guarantee than we have heretofore had of peace between the exhausted nations of Europe.

Of course, the end of this war will see us by far the most powerful nation in the world, and if the policy pointed out by Secretary Daniels is pursued, we shall perhaps in the fullness of time become ourselves the mistress of the seas without incurring hostility or attack from any nation, and shall be the great factor for preserving universal peace.

HAGUE AGREEMENTS MUST BE RESTORED

When we met at The Hague in June, 1907, at the opening of the Second Hague Conference, which was attended by all the nations of the earth, universal peace prevailed all the world over,

"No war or battle's sound
Was heard the world around."

Now all the covenants and agreements in which that Conference resulted have been treated as scraps of paper and scattered to the winds. But, perhaps, the terrible distress and exhaustion brought upon all the great nations of Europe by this destructive war will enable us, if we are in a position to exercise our rightful power as a nation, to secure the restoration of all those covenants, and to prevent their ever being broken again.

Yours very truly,
JOSEPH H. CHOATE.

New York City.



AMERICA'S ACHIEVEMENT —EUROPE'S FAILURE

FROM A CANADIAN STANDPOINT

BY DR. JAMES A. MACDONALD

[Dr. Macdonald's great talents as an editor and writer were first disclosed in his conduct of Presbyterian periodicals in Canada. For the past fourteen years he has been editor-in-chief of one of the Dominion's foremost newspapers, the *Daily Globe*, of Toronto. He is one of the leaders of Canadian thought and educational life, and a governor of the Toronto University. He comes of several generations of Scotch-Canadian ancestors, and was educated in the universities of Canada and Great Britain, beginning his active career as a Presbyterian minister. He is one of the directors of the World's Peace Foundation, and is broad-minded enough to appreciate all that is worth while in other countries besides his own.—THE EDITOR.]

TWO things stand out unique and unforgettable in the contribution the year 1914 has made to the history of the world. One is America's greatest achievement: the other is Europe's colossal failure.

Civilization stands aghast at the collapse of European ideals. All the highest achievements of the nations, all the things that make for progress and freedom and justice, the work of a thousand years and the hopes of a thousand more,—all have been crowded back into the melting-pot of brutal war. At its best war is barbarism. Brute-force belongs to the brute stages of human development. The wholesale carnage of these weeks in Belgium and France and Austria and on the borders of Germany and Russia is a triumph of the savage instincts in humanity. No matter who is responsible for it, the lining up for mutual slaughter of millions upon millions of men from the foremost nations of Europe, for the alleged purpose of settling some international dispute, is a blank denial of civilization, a crime against humanity, an apostasy from Christ.

Over against that ghastly failure of Europe is presented in America just now the celebration of a full century of unbroken peace between the greatest Empire the world ever saw and the world's greatest Republic. This is indeed the wonder of the world: more than 400,000,000 people of all races and colors and languages, covering over one-quarter of the land area of the globe, live at peace under one flag: under another flag live nearly 100,000,000 of as progressive people as the world knows: and these two flags for a hundred years, fold in fold, entwined in a common ideal, for a common pur-

pose, to promote the freedom and progress and peace of all humanity. In these days, these days of staggering and bitterness, when the war-cloud of Europe looms blackest, when its thunders speak of death and its lightnings flash of hell, I turn again to America, and, at the close of this unparalleled century of Anglo-American civilization, I thank God and take courage for all the world.

WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE

In preparing the way for America's greatest achievement the American colonies of the Eighteenth century played a necessary and notable part. They achieved one thing which informed and thoughtful citizens of Canada and Great Britain now know was unique and of world-significance. That one thing was the declaration of the right of a free people to govern themselves, the declaration before all the world that any people who desire self-government and are fit for self-government must be given the chance and responsibility of governing themselves; the supreme declaration of democracy that the authority of all human government is based on the consent of the governed.

NOT FOR INDEPENDENCE

It was not, indeed, for independence the American patriots strove; it was for self-government. Independence may be only the noisy clamor of the lawbreaker and the libertine. But self-government any free people of the Anglo-Saxon breed must have or be slaves. National autonomy, for men of the British blood, is of the very essence of national freedom. George Washington and

Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton proved themselves sons of the blood when, against the arrogance of the monarch and the ignorance of the aristocracy of England, they stood, in the hour of supreme struggle, for the rights of British freemen in New England and in the South.

Self-government was the end. The Declaration of Independence came to be the means. Had any other way been known to history by which a colony could come to national self-government, except the way of national separation, the American colonists of 1776 might have taken that other way. But the world knew no other way. The colonies took the old way of revolution, paid the old price, suffered the old loss, and won the old prize. That contribution to world democracy, despite the losses and sacrifices which revolution always brings, marked in itself a new epoch in world history, and is the greatest achievement of the United States of America.

WHAT CANADA HAS ACHIEVED

Canada also has made a great contribution to the political thinking and the progress of the world. It is even yet the habit in some quarters to call Canada a "colony," and to regard the Canadian Dominion as having done nothing of which the world may take note. That habit persists not in the United States merely, or in Britain, but in Canada as well. It is still counted for loyalty with some Canadians to ascribe every Canadian achievement to Britain (or, as they say, England), and to confess Canada's littleness and lack of achievement in the thought and government of the world.

And yet history, even the short history of Canada, records the fact that in the struggle and movement which confederated the British North American Provinces into the Dominion of Canada and gave to the new Dominion the rights and responsibilities of free national self-government a thing was done which was absolutely without precedent, an achievement which has changed forever the political history of the world.

SELF-GOVERNMENT, NOT SEPARATION

What is that supreme achievement of Canada? It is the gain of national self-government, without the loss of the nation's historic background. Self-government had to come to Canada as surely as it had to come to the United States. The day of its coming, which ended in the Quebec Conference of 1865 and the passing of the British North Amer-

ica act in 1867, was a long and stormy day. No man saw clearly. There was no blazed trail. No people had ever gone from colonial subjection to national self-government except by one road,—the road of separation. There were those in Canada who believed that self-government must take that one road of separation, and they fought against self-government. In Britain statesmen in both parties thought the separation of Canada inevitable. They were prepared to grant not confederation merely, but independence as well. Beaconsfield and Gladstone both thought what was called confederation and autonomy would lead straight to the independence and separation of Canada from the Empire.

It has come about, however, that not by constraint, not by compulsion, but by the free and deliberate choice of Canadians themselves, Canada's Imperial relations are what they are, and in the great days to come shall be what Canadians choose to make them. Not in tariff and trade merely, but in all the great choices of Canadian nationhood the law of the nation stands:—

"The gates are mine to open,
And the gates are mine to close."

And that achievement of national self-government within the world-circle of the British Empire, free from the embitterment of war or the alienations of strife, is Canada's greatest achievement. It is a new, an original, an epoch-making thing in the history of the world.

TRANSFORMING THE EMPIRE

And Canada's achievement for herself changed for the world the constitution and spirit of the whole British Empire. It did more. It made for the Empire a new prestige and a greater prominence among the nations. On the old lines the Empire could not endure. The old idea of "Imperium," with its centralized sovereignty and its subject states, had no future for sons of the British blood. Its day was done. Unless there came a new idea the break-up of the Empire was inevitable. The coming of Canada brought that new idea,—the idea of national freedom and national autonomy, not without, but within, the Imperial circle. Canada achieved it. After Canada came Australia, then New Zealand, and South Africa only yesterday.

NORTH AMERICA'S ACHIEVEMENT

But the greatest thing of all is the joint achievement of these two English-speaking

nations of North America. That supreme achievement which North America can show the world is an international boundary line between two nations across which in a hundred years neither nation ever once launched a menacing army or fired a hostile gun. Think of that achievement! A thousand miles up the mighty St. Lawrence, a thousand miles along the Great Lakes, a thousand miles across the open prairie, a thousand miles over a sea of mountains,—four thousand miles where nation meets nation and sovereignty meets sovereignty, but never a fortress, never a battleship, never a gun, never a sentinel on guard! Four thousand miles of civilized and Christianized internationalism,—that is North America's greatest achievement.

WHY AMERICA ACHIEVED

And why America's achievement? Why America's alone? Not because these two nations are spent and wasted forces, degenerate sons of coward sires, weak to defend a national right, slow to resent a national insult. No redder, prouder, hotter blood ever beat in British veins than the Pilgrim blood of New England, the Cavalier blood of Virginia, the Celtic blood of North Carolina, or the blood of the Ulster Scot of Kentucky and Tennessee. The same blood, red, proud, hot, throbs through Canadian veins from Cape Breton to Vancouver. Not blood from Britain alone, but from France as well, and from Germany. All the great war nations of Europe, through the generations, have slit their own veins and poured their best blood, their hot war blood, into the heart of America. If blood tells, that blood should tell in us.

AMERICA'S WORD TO THE WORLD

A civilized international boundary and a century of peace. That is America's greatest achievement. That thing, unique, original, North America alone has done. And because of that achievement these two nations have earned the right, when this wicked war is over, to stand up in the councils of the nations and teach the homelands of American colonists the more excellent way. What the sons in America have done on the Great Lakes, on the St. Lawrence, on the Niagara, and across the sweeping plains, the fathers in Britain, in France, and in Germany might do, ought to do, on the North Sea and in the Channel. It can be done on all the continents. The jungle can be made a neighborhood. The remainders of barbarism can

be swept away on every boundary line. If America takes her stand and leads the way all the continents will do it.

Here we stand, we of America, facing the colossal failure of Europe. The boundary lines between European countries are yawning with forts, bristling with bayonets, and most of them bedabbled with blood. For forty years those defenses have been a growing menace to all the world. Europe has been an armed camp. The nations lived in the Fool's Paradise of Armed Peace until they found it the Fool's Hell of Bloody War. They all said: "In Peace prepare for War." Here in North America our two nations for a hundred years have been saying: "In Peace prepare for More Peace." In Europe they got, as they were bound to get, the thing they prepared for,—War. In America we got, as we deserved to get, the thing we prepared for,—a hundred years of More Peace.

AMERICA'S SHARE

North America has become a neighborhood; but Europe has remained a jungle. The world is too small for any continent to live to itself, or for any country to stand alone. The United States in this war is neutral; and neutral, I hope and pray, it may remain. But neutrality has not saved the people and the interests of your Republic from its share of the world's sorrows, or of the incalculable suffering and loss which this war entails. Canada was worlds away from the mad vortex of European militarism, but the widening circle of that awful maelstrom has swept Canada into its deathful whirl. There is not a shore in the Southern Seas, there is not an island in the lone Pacific, that has not felt the dread undertow of Europe's upheaval.

America had indeed dreamed of unbroken Peace. The Fathers of Independence planned it for the United States. To Canada war is a new and surprising experience. We had all thought a war in Europe never could come nigh our dwelling. But it has come. And it shall come nearer still, into our homes, into the bleeding places of our hearts. We have been parties to the world's uncured and unchristian folly. The Republic and the Empire both have said: "In Peace prepare for War." With half the homes of Europe bleeding at every pore, we cannot expect and we cannot ask that our homes and our counting-houses and our nations and our continent, alone in all the world, shall be spared the world's awful baptism of blood.

AMERICA'S HOPE

But a new day shall dawn. Out of this weirdness and welter a new world shall rise. Up from this horror and death America must come with its schools and colleges and universities and churches: America, having seen enough of blood and carnage in the old world to take a fresh stand for the new: America, with its eye undimmed, its faith unbroken, and its hope triumphant in a new life, a larger life, a life not of militarism and world-mastership, but of love and justice and the brotherhood of man!

Please God, this will be the end of autocracies, the end of despotisms, the end of war-lords, the end of secret diplomacies of deceit, the end of menacing alliances and threatening ententes, the ultimate and everlasting end of the Religion of Valor, of the Cult of Violence, and of the barbaric appeals to brute Force.

And please God, too, this will be the end of all ambitious and arrogant Imperialism,

the end of that ignorant and vulgar jingo lust for colonies and for mastership and for the domination of the world. A new-born world already begins to heave above the horizon line. It will be a world of free nationalities: a world of righteous democracies, in which there must be no supremacy and no servitude: a world where no master will be allowed on land and no mistress needed on the sea. Over free peoples there can be no dictator, no autocracy, no mastership. Every nation, great or small, must be master in its own house,—little Belgium as truly as great Germany, the year-old China as truly as the ages-old Britain. The Might of all must defend the Right of each. The glory of the Strong must be in the help of the Weak. The Ten Commandments must be written on the heart of the world's democracy; and into the Congresses, the Parliaments, and the Chancelleries of the nations He must come whose Truth and Justice give the Right to Reign.

THE PEACE OF GHENT AND THE WAR OF 1914

BY BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT

[In the pages immediately following this article will be found some account of the distinguished French statesman who sends this earnest message to America out of the fulness of his knowledge and conviction. He is a Senator of France, an eloquent speaker, and was a member of the French delegation in both of The Hague Conferences. He is also, like Senator Root, a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague. It would hardly be expected that he could,—in writing just now,—divest himself of his point of view as a French statesman in active public life. But unquestionably his attitude towards the German people is not one that fails to appreciate the real value of their achievements in education, science, and industry.—THE EDITOR.]

I SHOULD like at the beginning of this communication to use the REVIEW OF REVIEWS as a medium through which to extend thanks to my loyal American friends for their expressions of sympathy for my country and of abhorrence for the war which has been made upon us.

We had not desired this war; we had sought to prevent its outbreak. But, now that the irreparable mischief has been done, we would sacrifice everything rather than that a similar outrage against civilization should ever again be possible. France, if previously divided, has to-day only one heart,—a unified, collective energy. The German armies will have worn themselves out with killing, burning and destroying before they

will make the first impression upon the firm will of France to drive them back.

We believe we shall gain the final victory because we are defending much more than our own possessions. We defend the welfare of the whole world; more than ever before, we are fighting for liberty, progress and peace. This is something that German militarism seems incapable of understanding. We shall fight on for years, if necessary, and even to death itself rather than submit to a law or principle so hateful. The whole strength of that cause is in brute force. Ours lies rather in the power of ideas. This stupendous war, which the new world is now witnessing, is not a new thing for us: it sets grappling with each other, not merely two

groups of nations, but two opposing spirits, the spirit of conquest and the spirit of independence; two irreconcilable systems, the one grown out of date and condemned by all the experience of history; the other modern and as yet not fully organized, but universally acclaimed. Between brute force, abnormal and out-of-date as it is, and all the growing power of mind, the governments of the world might well observe a prudent neutrality. The peoples themselves have already made their choice,—particularly the young American Republics, since they themselves have all arisen out of revolt against oppression. When it is contended that there are true Americans who favor the success of German militarism, I say I do not believe it. Such a preference would be contrary to nature, the repudiation of their very origins, of their most noble aspirations, of their very reason for existence.

This is what I should like to demonstrate upon the occasion of the commemoration of the peace of Ghent.

A CENTURY OF PEACE VERSUS A HUNDRED YEARS' WAR

The centenary of the Treaty of Ghent was about to be celebrated on both sides of the Atlantic. Preparations were being made with enthusiasm. A hundred years of peace achieved over ignorance, ancient custom, and egoism, achieved by human patience and perseverance,—a magnificent prelude to the opening of the Panama Canal! What a measure for future triumphs! What a proof of the possibility of looking forward to other centuries of peace in the future! This argument, based on a century's peace, I have many times adduced, particularly in my book, "The United States of America."¹

I have employed it to prove the falsity of the presumption that there are "inevitable wars" and to protest against the rivalries of an armed peace.

Europeans are quite unable to understand this hundred years' peace of the English-speaking nations, a peace of disarmament, a peace of the spirit. It has been a peace which seemed paradoxical, a peace between two nations hitherto irreconcilable, not merely two enemy nations, but worse, two enemy brothers who had become rivals. It is possible that this peace of a hundred years has not transformed human nature,—one would not expect that,—but it has broken men of the habit of believing that war is a solution. It

is peace this time that is a solution, and a real one. In proclaiming this result a moral and material triumph will be established. This gladsome peace of a hundred years will take its place in the realm of the spirit, in literature, and in history as a creation of the new world, as a splendid new achievement to set over against that ancient fact of a "Hundred Years' War," as a spontaneous advance commended to the consideration of the world, as a recognized advance, since the old solution offered by war was not only abandoned, but replaced by a new method, long contested, but finally deemed worthy of acceptance,—international arbitration.

DIFFICULTIES SETTLED BY ARBITRATION

The commemoration of the Treaty of Ghent accomplished two things. It attested at the same time the uselessness of war and the efficiency of judicial, friendly methods of settlement, a far greater efficacy than had been thought possible, for this long experience of two great free peoples and the marvelous increase of their prosperity pointed the way to the world achievement of The Hague.

It will not be alleged in Europe that these nations have not had sufficient experience. It is sometimes forgotten that there were plenty of difficult points between the two brother enemies who have become reconciled, but who remain neighbors along a difficult frontier of four thousand miles, along which, from one side at least, there are often annoying customs exactions. It is sometimes forgotten that there has been more than one temptation for each to denounce this agreement of peace. The American war of secession,—was not this a unique opportunity for England to begin the so-called inevitable war? But no. Rather than seize this occasion for hostilities, England preferred to submit the question of the *Alabama* to arbitration. The United States, for its part, scorned to take advantage of the Crimean War, of the Indian mutiny, of the Egyptian embroglio, or the South African war, or of any other occasion, to attack England. At the same time, the questions between the two countries, which war alone seemed competent to settle, included those of the Great Lakes, the fisheries of Bering Sea and Newfoundland, the Irish problem, the questions of Alaska, of British Columbia, of Venezuela, of Panama, and how many others!

CONTRIBUTION TO THE HAGUE CONFERENCES

The long peace of Ghent, far from preparing for war by enervating the spirits and

¹ A volume published in French in Paris, by Armand Colin, 1913, and to be brought out in English in New York, by the Macmillan Company, in 1915.

courage of the two countries, has stimulated those qualities. This peace has become a point of departure, the beginning of a régime without precedent, a period of new economic rivalries, a period of education and mutual discipline. It has thereby rendered to civilization an inestimable service. Its value cannot be too highly appreciated. The representatives of Great Britain and of the United States, at the first Peace Conference,—such men as Lord Pauncefoot, Andrew D. White and Seth Low,—had behind them the uninterrupted course of a century when they brought to The Hague, in collaboration with their liberal colleagues of Europe, their contribution to that agreement, which remains, despite anything that may be said to the contrary, and which will remain, it may be said, the great achievement for good of the two conferences: I speak of the agreement for the pacific settlement of international conflicts. Even if we admit that nothing else remains of these two great conferences, this one thing will more than console us for the failure to provide agreements to regulate "the laws and customs of war on land and sea."

THE PERIL OF MILITARISM

For my own part I have never believed in these efforts to "humanize" warfare. War cannot be humanized. Laws and justice cannot be adapted to war, which is itself destructive of law and justice. The essential thing that remains of these conferences at The Hague is a method of procedure in accordance with law, a mechanism of conciliation and of mediation, the good offices of arbitration. That will accomplish a great deal.

The more thoroughly the world gives up hope of humanizing war, the better will it comprehend the necessity of preventing that calamity. Such has been the effect of the agreement of The Hague, since it has been permitted to settle, without offending anyone and calling for only a minimum expenditure of funds, some serious European differences, including that of the Dogger Banks, of Casablanca, of the *Carthage*, and the *Manouba*. The peace of Ghent will have illustrated for the principal civilized nations a method of making trial of tribunals of conciliation, inquiry, and arbitration, and will assure success, since the decisions of such tribunals or commissions, far from calling forth any protests, have dispelled misunderstandings, and established friendly feelings. This is quite contrary to war, which has engendered nothing except hatred and reprisal.

Thus the practise of bringing about justice

by international conciliation has penetrated, little by little, into the ethics of our time. The menace of war is losing ground, but its evil genius, militarism, remains on guard. The militaristic press of Europe does not talk of the peace of Ghent as an improvement in the good relations of peoples. The militaristic organs discredit as much as they possibly can the spirit of harmony, and now they even affect an indignation against these calamities which are their own work. War is for them nothing but a beginning. The end sought is vengeance. For war is not between governments, they tell us. It is waged by peoples, by races. It will always be. Let the United States and all the republics of the new world prepare for it.

There is the danger against which you must guard. You believe that militarism has already done all the evil it can. No, you are now its latest victim. If it succeeds in winning over you in your turn, you Americans, to this obsession, then I cannot even think what will become of humanity without refuge from this monster that is raging everywhere. I have long wished to protest and to ward this away from you, just as I have wished to ward it from my own country, from all countries if possible, from Germany herself. This duty impelled me to visit the United States four times. It was to accomplish this duty that I made my appeal to the spirit of American resistance in 1902, in 1907, in 1911, but particularly in 1912. That is why I am planning to go this year to South America. It is why to-day I am writing again.

THE AMERICAN CONTRASTED WITH THE EUROPEAN ATTITUDE

I have seized desperately every possible occasion to talk with your statesmen, your diplomats, your intellectuals, to address your universities, your young people, your women, your children, your legislatures and municipal councils, your churches, your clubs, your industrial organizations and your agricultural and commercial societies, and I have had the happiness of always finding among you those to whom I could speak. But listen now to a voice more powerful than that of a single man. Hear and learn the lesson of calamities brought on wilfully and that cannot be made good. Listen! The danger which Europe cannot now ward off will be your peril to-morrow; our misfortune will be your misfortune, if you do not take the right point of view, if our calamity leads you to make our mistakes. Profit, I beg of

you, by your experience with the peace of Ghent, but profit also by our experience in the present war.

What a contrast!

In the United States (if I except your war with Spain, which all the world knows to-day,—without daring to say so,—could have been avoided) peace, with you, has become such a state of mind that you passed unscathed through the Russo-Japanese war and resisted all those petty, local endeavors to frighten you with the scarecrow of the Yellow Peril. You have even escaped the mad temptation to intervene in Mexico. It is true that you lacked an adequate army and that a navy was almost useless there. But you might have let yourself be dragged along like so many others. You might have exaggerated your available forces and not reckoned sufficiently with the obstacles to be surmounted. But the fact remains that you resisted. That is an immense advance of which you will always be proud. You remain masters of your destiny.

In Europe quite the contrary has taken place. France did not want the war. She wished to settle reasonably and equitably with the ever-increasing anxieties resulting from an armed peace. Our last general elections bore testimony to our pacific state of mind, to say nothing of the efforts of our representatives at Berne, Basle, Heidelberg, and Nuremberg to bring about by mutual concessions a Franco-German reconciliation. To these efforts the militarism of Zabern replied by the shameful challenge which you all know. England did not wish the war. The English Parliament would not have sanctioned Britain's entrance if the cynicism of German aggression had not forced it to do so. Belgium did not want war. Russia, it may be said, was not ready and consequently asked for nothing more than the chance decently to escape the conflict. This she proved during the two Balkan wars. Serbia, exhausted by those two dreadful conflicts, wished for nothing but a chance to recuperate. Germany herself wished peace, and Austria also, generally speaking, I am convinced.

Now see the great difference between the new world and the old. The United States is free, Europe is not. The United States has proven that war can be avoided. Europe has been brought up more or less in the opposite tradition. The day when, during an attack of almost incredible madness, the Austrian Government, supported by the German, took upon itself to declare war on Ser-

via, the other nations had not even time to confer. They were forced to defend themselves against a sudden, although long-prepared, attack. In two days the mischief was done, the neutrality of Belgium violated, Great Britain forced to mobilize, and the town of Ghent, only yesterday chosen as a place at which to celebrate the hundred years of peace, became nothing more than one of the innumerable victims of war. Happily it did not resist and was not compelled to submit to the rule of force, which has been the fate of Liège, of Louvain, of Malines, and all the towns and villages and dwellings destroyed and defiled by the scientific barbarism of the German armies. The venerable town of Ghent had to give up its celebrations; German barracks, or ruined Belgian town,—Prussian militarism gave it no other choice.

GHEENT REMINDS US OF THE COSTS OF WAR

What a contrast between what should have been and what is! A hopeless contrast? No. A moral lesson has already been drawn from this with practical consequences for the new world at least.

On the twenty-fourth of December, Christmas Eve, the anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, the two parliaments, the one at London and the other at Washington, had planned at the same hour, at the same moment, in accordance with the admirable suggestion of the Hon. Elihu Root, to pause for five minutes in their proceedings in order that all their members might do homage to peace at last victorious over war. In this manifestation of joy of confidence, and of gratitude, all civilization would have joined, particularly our own France, the country of the great revolution, younger sister of the American Revolution, and daughter, like her, of the same great spirits.

Americans will not fail to draw a lesson from this disappointment at Ghent. They will see what war costs. They will measure the monstrous disproportion between the trifling cause and the results beyond repair. I do not speak of the economic calamity. The celebration at Ghent would have been nothing but a prelude to the opening of the Panama Canal and the World's Fair at San Francisco. The war will have nullified, as it always does, all that science and human care has accumulated through the years. Americans will suffer from financial calamities and by the ruin of the greatest and most cherished projects of humanity. They will be horrified by the frightful bloodshed

of which no one, after four months of battle without ceasing, can see the end. They will be aroused by all the grief, the sufferings, the wounds, the illnesses and the miseries that will follow this war. They will be indignant at the splendid plans, the deeds of heroism, the professions, the geniuses of which this war will deprive civilization. They will not be able to celebrate the peace of Ghent, but they will curse the war and those who brought it about.

WHAT GERMANY MIGHT HAVE BEEN

Americans will see above all things what Prussian militarism has made out of a great country like Germany. They will see how Germany, at the very moment when she had but to harvest the fruit of a century's work, will have lost all, thanks to the pride and stupidity of militarism; how she has been the victim of a perverted education,—a brutal system in which force takes precedence of justice.

There are, indeed, extenuating circumstances. Germany was so long herself a field of battle, a crossing-ground where armies have come from all points of the compass to hurl themselves at one another for mutual destruction. She has been trained in the school of the great conquerors, and now the spirit of conquest is in her blood. But it is her turn to pay for the glory.

She need only have contented herself with her own life. If she had not willed to dominate and oppress other peoples, Poles, Danes, and Alsatians, who were not willing and never will be willing to be made slaves, she could have been the bond of union for Europe. She had only to wait upon time and the expansion of her hard-working population. Her peaceful conquests were beyond criticism and irresistible in Europe and the entire world. The vigor of her economic activity had opened to her all markets, all continents, just as the genius of her musicians had gained for her the homage of all souls. She has turned from the symphonies of Beethoven to listen to the claptrap of Bernhardt. Rather than make herself beloved, she has preferred to be feared. She has become a peril when she might have been an asset, a menace when she might have been a guarantee. She has militarized all Europe, not to say the entire world. She has militarized Russia, of which, it might be said, she thought so little for almost twenty years that when, in 1898, the Czar proposed his conference for disarmament, she opposed it. She has militarized England, which she could

have defeated much more surely by her trade than by her dreadnoughts. She has brought about all around her and against her a union of opposing interests.

"GERMANY HAS BEEN DECEIVED"

German militarism has wished to dominate even German intelligence. It has succeeded. It has extorted from Germany's men of intellect unreserved approval.

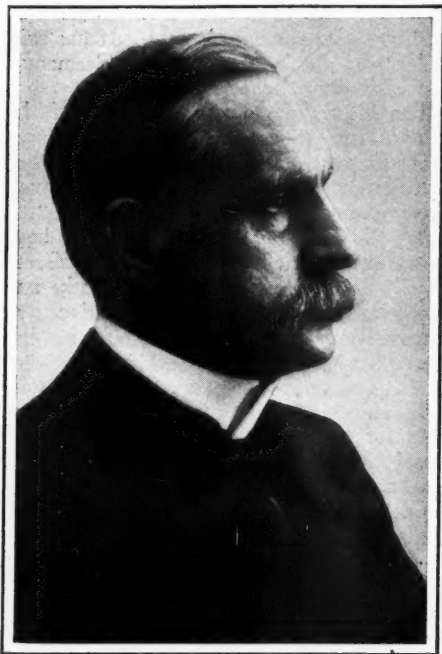
The history of Germany is that of the pride which goeth before a fall. For forty years Germany has been paying for her victories already won and planning for a victory even greater, the big victory, "the Great Day." Young Germany has been reared in a mystic expectation of this "Great Day." Instead of explaining honestly and patriotically that such an expectation was only folly, all of German literature has exerted itself to make Germany lose her head. The masters, like the pupils, the wise men, and the ignoramuses, every one has lived for the "great day" of "power," "universal domination," when inevitably this "great day" could only mean ruin.

Such was the effect on the imagination of a too credulous people, of theories born in war and conceived for war. Moreover, these theories have not even the merit of novelty. The books of Bernhardt and of all the apostles of "Deutschland über Alles" have simply been plagiarized from the classics of Machiavelli and Joseph de Maistre.

Germany has been deceived. She had, like all the other leading modern nations, the certainty of a great peaceful future. Her government turned her from that road. It has trained her for a barbarous war without any possible issue. It has called down universal execration. Germany has allied herself with Turkey to destroy museums of art, libraries, cathedrals, and even the humblest cottages. She has piled up ruin upon ruin, desecration upon desecration, sacrilege upon sacrilege. And for what contemptible result! To-day her mothers are in tears like our own; her beloved children rot without burial on the same unknown fields, with the cherished children of France. Her dreams of domination have flickered out in a morass of blood and mire.

The peace of Ghent will not be celebrated this year. Americans, however, will continue to honor it, for it has served to promote truth, righteousness, and progress; whereas this war, let loose by Prussian militarism, stands out as the greatest misfortune and the most odious crime of history.

A WORLD STATESMAN



BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT,
SENATOR OF FRANCE

BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT needs no introduction to many of our readers who have had the pleasure of meeting him, or of hearing him speak on subjects of world interest, during one or more of his four visits to the United States.

From 1895 until 1904 the Baron was Member of the Chamber of Deputies, and for the last ten years he has represented the District of La Sarthe in the French Senate.

Prior to his entrance into the French Parliament he was connected with the Diplomatic Service, notably in Montenegro, London, and The Hague. At the two Hague Conferences of 1899 and 1907, as the delegate from France, Baron D'Estournelles de Constant took a leading part.

As President Founder of the Association for International Conciliation he has initiated a most important movement looking toward the betterment of international relations. To this work he may be said to have devoted the best energies of his active life. At home and abroad he has frequently braved international prejudice and animosity in his efforts to bring about a spirit of true friendliness between France and Germany.



GLIMPSES OF THE ANCIENT AND MODERN PARTS OF THE CHATEAU OF CLERMONT-CREANS, HOME OF THE
BARON D'ESTOURNELLES DE CONSTANT



THE MODERN PART OF THE CHATEAU, ON THE RIVER LOIR, IS TWO OR THREE HUNDRED YEARS OLD

He was awarded the Nobel Peace prize for the year 1909.

The hours not required by his public work are spent in his beautiful home at Créans in the midst of his charming family. At the present time both the Chateau and the Castle are largely given over to hospital use for the wounded.

The breadth of mind of a French Senator who can write so firmly, yet conscientiously, regarding the adversary, in the very midst of deadly war, must be admired and respected by all who read the contribution made by him to this REVIEW in the pages immediately preceding.

If the warning voices of international statesmen like the Baron D'Estournelles de Constant had been duly heeded in Europe, the present war could not have occurred.



THE ANCIENT PARTS OF THE CASTLE AND CHATEAU DATE FROM THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



A GROUP OF CONVALESCENT FRENCH SOLDIERS, WITH SISTERS OF CHARITY, AT THE CRÉANS HOSPITAL ADJACENT TO THE HOME OF THE BARON, WHOSE ESTABLISHMENT IS AT THE SERVICE OF THE WOUNDED

THE FINAL BATTLE

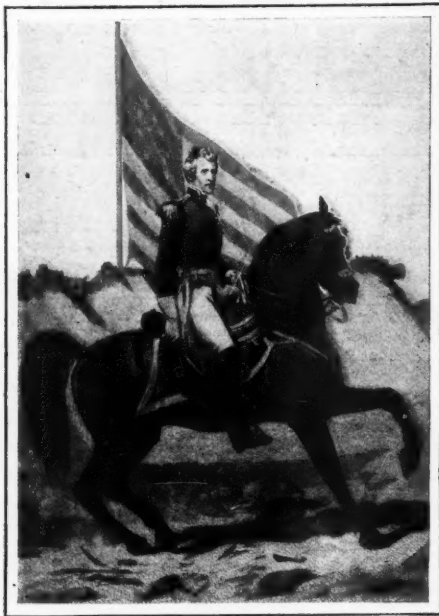
ENGLAND AND AMERICA FOUGHT THEIR LAST FIGHT
AT NEW ORLEANS ON JANUARY 8, 1815

IN New Orleans the scene of the final struggle of the War of 1812 has been chosen as a fitting spot for one of the ceremonies of the Anglo-American Peace Centenary. Appropriate exercises will take place

be noteworthy parades, historical pageants, commemorative addresses, and religious ceremonies. The Cabildo,—the old Spanish armory,—will be opened as a permanent battle abbey museum, to set forth Louisiana's part in the upbuilding of the nation.

However much the battle of New Orleans may have reflected glory on American arms, and influenced our political history by bringing forward the picturesque and forceful personality of "Old Hickory" it will always be regretted; for it occurred fifteen days after the signing of the treaty of peace at Ghent,—on December 24, 1814. The telegraph had not then been invented, and the sailing vessel that bore the news of peace could make but slow progress. The consequent needlessness of this struggle at New Orleans may perhaps serve as a text for the advocates of peace.

It was in the autumn of 1814 that the rumor came of a threatened invasion from England, with New Orleans as the objective point. A fleet of some fifty vessels under Admiral Cochrane, with at least sixteen thousand troops and a thousand guns, duly



GENERAL JACKSON AT NEW ORLEANS

under the auspices of the Louisiana Society.

The celebration will begin on January 8, which is the anniversary of the battle, and the program will continue until the 10th. The monument that has been erected is on the very spot where Jackson's standard flew, on Chalmette battlefield. This monument will be unveiled by the United Daughters of 1776 and 1812. In the original program it was arranged that President Wilson should deliver an address, to be responded to by a representative of Great Britain; and American warships before New Orleans were to fire a salute of one hundred guns. The exigencies of the world war will doubtless have affected some of these plans. But there will

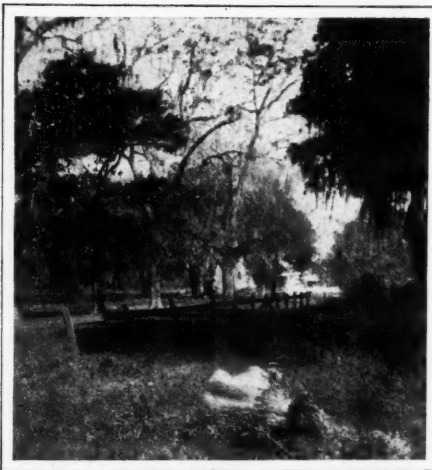


Photo by Stanley Sisaby Arthur, New Orleans

THE SITE OF JACKSON'S EARTH-WORKS

(This grass-grown depression marks the location of the Rodriguez Canal, behind which Jackson's troops were intrenched)

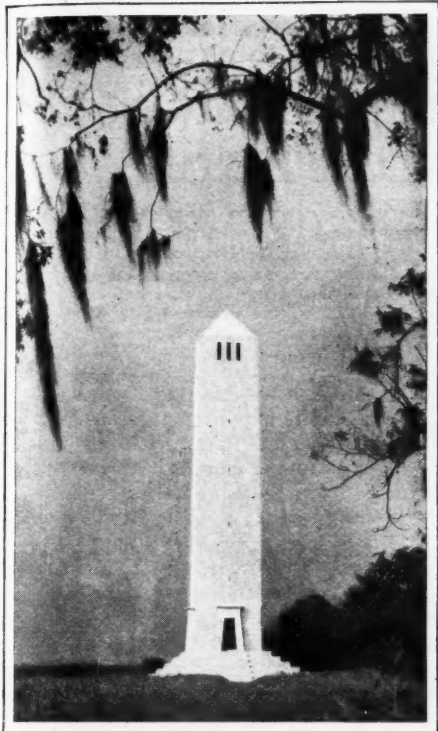


Photo by Stanley Clisby Arthur, New Orleans

THE CHALMETTE MONUMENT

(This monument marks the site of the battle of New Orleans, and has been erected on the spot where General Jackson raised his standard. It will be unveiled on January 8)



GENERAL SIR EDWARD M. PAKENHAM

(General Pakenham, Commander of the British troops at the battle of New Orleans, was a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and had come on his American expedition fresh from distinguished services in the Peninsular wars)

appeared off the coast of Louisiana. The expedition was commanded by Sir Edward M. Pakenham, a veteran of the Peninsular wars, accompanied by Generals Gibbs, Keane, and Lambert, all soldiers of repute. Entering Lake Borgne on December 10, the British destroyed six American gunboats. The undefended city of New Orleans was thrown into a state of great excitement.

Meanwhile Jackson, fresh from his victories over the Creek Indians and recently appointed Major-General of the Army, had arrived from Florida after a long horseback ride through the wilderness. He put the city under martial law and summoned troops from Baton Rouge, Tennessee, and Mississippi. The first skirmish took place two days before Christmas, six miles below New Orleans. A second engagement occurred on New Year's Day, behind the famous cotton-bale breastworks, the British using hogsheads of sugar for defenses. But the decisive battle was still to come. After days and nights spent in vigorous building of earthworks, the

dawn of the 8th of January found the two little armies grimly facing each other for the final struggle. Jackson's 4500 men were entrenched along the Rodriguez Canal.

The British attacked in several divisions, and for two hours the battle raged. But the deadly volleys from the American cannon and muskets played havoc with them. They fell by the hundreds. General Pakenham, riding from the rear to rally his retreating troops, received three shots and died in a few minutes; Generals Gibbs and Keane also fell. The British,—thoroughly repulsed in the short but bloody battle,—left 700 dead upon the field and twice as many wounded. The entire American loss was 71. General Lambert, who had succeeded to the British command, decided to withdraw his troops to his ships, and on the 27th of January sailed away from the shores of Louisiana. Thus ended,—let us hope forever,—the appeal to arms between the United States and Great Britain.

AN EFFICIENCY EXPERT ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

A MESSAGE FROM HARRINGTON EMERSON

[In response to our request, Mr. Emerson sends the following suggestive notes on the problem of American national defense, and the way of proceeding to analyze the question in order to deal with it. Informal as are his remarks, they will be found to have unusual value.—THE EDITOR.]

December 12, 1914.

THE United States Government is in some respects founded on the negation of the fundamental principles of organization, and therefore of efficiency.

Experts are needed for plans, but in our form of government neither those who appoint the experts nor those who pass on the plans are qualified so to do. They may hit it by accident, certainly not by antecedent probability.

Permanence is needed to carry out well-made plans of national defense, but as to our national policies, excepting the shadowy but very real Monroe Doctrine, there is no permanence.

In addition, of course, in regard to national defense we are wholly provincial. Our days of Indian warfare are over; Canada is a well-mannered and very dear neighbor; Mexico is a troublesome, but not a dangerous, neighbor, and we only theoretically know about war.

Our national war plans should be for defense, not for offense.

We cannot rival European armies; we are neither ready for, nor willing to endure universal conscription. While our army and naval officers rank as high in intelligence as first-class civilians, the great bulk of our initiative, brains, and energy have gone into industry, transportation, commerce. It would be a serious drain to divert these qualities to armies and navies; yet without putting the supreme national intelligence into war preparation we could never hope to be of the first rank. We cannot rival Great Britain's navy. A navy depends on submarine cables (less now than before the development of wireless), on coaling stations, on repair refuges. Great Britain has these all over the world; no other power has any to speak of. The hunted German cruisers pounced on defenseless merchantmen. By wonderfully good ability they met and

destroyed an inferior British squadron. They fled from sea to sea, meeting here and there semi-piratical supply boats, and trusting to clandestine wireless messages from neutral shores, only in the end to be cornered and destroyed. Our fate in a naval war with Great Britain would be that of the Germans.

It is not for a man who is not an expert to express any opinion on the comparative value of shore defenses, submarines, and dreadnoughts. Believing in defense, I would personally prefer to see many, many sea-going submarines. Small submarines capable of being carried by fast cruisers might prove very dangerous to dreadnoughts, even off the Falkland Islands.

As to armies, for forty years I have admired the Swiss plan of universal school training, for in early youth there is plenty of time. This Swiss schoolboy training is supplemented with outing drills of the young grown-ups. Switzerland has, I believe, in proportion to population the largest and best prepared army in the world.

In this country, also, every grammar-school boy should be thoroughly drilled, and every high-school boy should be trained for service as a petty officer. The National Military Academy should turn out enough graduates to officer an army of four million, these graduates entering civil life but with obligation to serve in case of war.

How, therefore, shall we be able to plan intelligently as to our national defense?

I do not believe in commission agencies of information. No great invention or any great plan was ever developed by a commission. But how can we secure the one great constructive genius who could give us the perfect plan? The counsel of a Kitchener or of a Bernhardt might be of supreme value in the preliminary stages. Those men have been in it. We have not.

HARRINGTON EMERSON.

New York City.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR IN DECEMBER

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

[For the benefit of many new subscribers, who begin reading the REVIEW OF REVIEWS with the opening of a new year and a new volume, it should be stated that Mr. Simonds is writing of the great war month by month, that his articles began in our issue for last October, and that they will continue as heretofore. It is the common verdict that no writer has thus far succeeded as well as Mr. Simonds in making clear the strategic moves and in helping the reader to see and feel, as well as to comprehend, the terrible conflict as the lines of battle are deadlocked or as new situations develop.—THE EDITOR.]

I. THE BEGINNING OF THE END

IN any general survey of the history of the Great War in its fifth month, the moral rather than the military effect of the operations takes first place. For if the German attack in the opening months might fairly be likened to a forest fire sweeping irresistibly forward over vast districts, ever widening its area of destruction and mounting ever higher in its violence, it is not less patent that, December come, there was east and west in Europe an evident slackening of the fire,—a growing competence on the part of those whose necessity it was to limit, control, extinguish the blaze.

Looking at the fields of operation in December, it was plain that while there had been no success yet in actually extinguishing the conflagration, it had been limited, circumscribed, confined to the narrowest bounds since it broke out. In places it was actually flung back; at no point was it permitted to ravage again many of the districts which it had swept over in the early days of August and September.

In September it was Paris which had been in danger. In October, in November, the German drive for the seacoast, for Calais and Dunkirk, threatened to conquer for the Kaiser that "window on the Channel" which for all Pan-Germans had been the dream of all dreams, the first step in the series which was to acquire for Germany her "place in the sun."

But if in November and in the terrible battle of Ypres, of Flanders, this German advance had been halted, in December it was clear that like the march to Paris the sweep to the Channel had been definitely repulsed. From Switzerland to the North Sea the great German offensive had come to a full

stop, fallen dead, lost the necessary numbers and force, had sunk to the level of a mere siege operation in which the Germans were more frequently on the defensive than the offensive, and one by one towns and villages in Flanders, in Artois, in Champagne, which had been captured in the initial drives, were regained by allied advances, advances measured by rods, not miles, achieved in days, not hours.

For this the explanation was to be found rather in the east than the west, for while her western campaign was still at a crisis Germany had again, as before the Battle of the Marne, to hurry eastward troops necessary to enforce victory in Flanders to avoid the imminent disaster Russian masses had prepared in Poland. East and west, Russian, French and British armies increased in numbers, in effectiveness, in material, particularly in artillery, while Austrian resource and military value declined still more rapidly than before, and at last there seemed to be the approach of a time when German numbers and courage, German efficiency and skill, would no longer avail to keep the battle lines on both fronts outside her own territory.

Looking seaward, too, the decisive defeat of the last German fleet on the high seas,—always inevitable, given the superiority of the allied navies,—served to emphasize once more how fatally the net was being drawn about the German Empire. It served to recall for all Americans the circumstances of the Confederacy, when,—Gettysburg lost, and the Atlantic blockade made effective,—the superiority in resources and numbers of the North was established, and the Civil War settled down to a process of attrition. Then came destruction by campaigns in which neither skill, devotion, nor valor could avail against numbers, wealth, and sea power.

Thus for the outside world December seemed to mark the beginning of the end, not in the sense that the approach of peace was measurably hastened, not that the prospect of a long and terrible war was banished, but simply in the sense that under the political conditions existing, while the ranks of her enemies remained unbroken, there was no longer any promise of ultimate German victory. Germany's problem henceforth seemed to be one of defense not attack, of endurance not conquest. William II was not to conquer Europe as Napoleon did at Austerlitz. Germany was not to control the Continent as France had a little more than a century before. It remained to be seen whether the German Emperor could hold Belgium as Frederick the Great had held Silesia, against the combined military strength of Europe.

II. IN THE EAST AGAIN

In measuring the Eastern campaign, which in December, as in November, attracted the attention of the whole world, it is necessary to emphasize certain major circumstances. Above all, for the first time in the progress of the Great War, a German army was brought within two steps of destruction. It escaped. German generalship and German courage rose to their highest level in the months of conflict, but the moral effect was not to be mistaken. Already the world began to recall the experience of Napoleon on the road to Moscow; and the German losses suggested his at Borodino, when the very flower of the Grand Army was destroyed by Russian pertinacity. Von Hindenburg's success in taking Lodz, in result as in casualty list, recalled the Napoleonic victory.

For the first time it now became clear that Russia was getting her millions into the field. Handicapped by the greater mobility of her foe, by the tremendous advantage the Germans possessed in the strategic railways inside their own frontiers, by the superior training and equipment of their armies, the Russians now began to demonstrate that all these advantages are not sufficient to enforce victory, when the disparity of numbers is too great. Napoleon's greatest campaign, that in France in 1814, was increasingly in the minds of many, as Von Hindenburg moved rapidly from point to point, striking terrific blows, displaying supreme military skill. But each of the blows failed, fell short of destroying his foe, because his forces were too small.

A new circumstance, too, commanded attention. When Germany had launched her

October thrust at Warsaw, it had compelled Russia to draw back in Galicia, to abandon the siege of Przemyśl, to retreat behind the San River, and send masses from the south to the north. But in December the German offensive operations, made for the same purpose, had up to December 20 proved unavailing. Indeed, while in the earlier advance the Russians had only reached Tarnow, in December their artillery was bombarding Cracow, their infantry partially surrounding that fortress, the sole barrier to Silesia, and their cavalry had again crowned the Carpathians and flowed down into the Hungarian plain. In East Prussia, too, the Russian invasion continued despite German efforts in Poland.

For all this there was the single and simple explanation. To Germany and her Austrian ally there were now lacking the numbers to meet on equal terms the forces arrayed against them in the East and in the West. On both fronts they were now outnumbered. In the West the Germans still held most of Belgium and a thin slice of northern France, but in the East Russian soldiers occupied a corner of East Prussia, and Austria had abandoned all of Galicia save the territory about Cracow and had again evacuated Bukovina. Upwards of 35,000 square miles, with a population of 10,000,000, had thus been temporarily or permanently lost to the two emperors,—a complete set-off for the conquests of Germany in the West.

In examining the progress of the campaign in the East in December three circumstances must be kept in mind. First, the railroad map of Poland, for the whole operations were based upon the railroads. Second, the German strategy, now for the first time shaped by the conditions imposed upon the German General Staff by their enemies. Third, the three phases of the campaign; in the first the Germans almost achieved a second Tannenberg, in the second they narrowly escaped a Sedan, in the third the campaign descended to the level of a deadlock, momentarily at least wholly comparable to that in the West.

III. THE RAILROAD MAP

Looking at Russian Poland on the map it will be seen that it resembles a gigantic wheel, half its circumference or rim made by the territory of Russia, the other half by Austrian and German territory from East Prussia to Galicia. Warsaw, the capital, is situated about in the center and serves as the hub of this Polish wheel.



Boundary Lines

Scale of Miles

0 50 100 200

Railroads

EASTERN THEATER OF WAR, SHOWING STRATEGIC RAILWAY LINES

From Warsaw three main railways radiate like the spokes of a wheel. The first, going northwest, reaches the Prussian frontier near Mlawka, whence it continues to Dantzig. The second goes nearly due west, approaches the frontier at Kalisz and crosses it just beyond this town, whence it continues west to Frankfurt and Berlin. The third runs southwest and reaches the frontier of Silesia east of Czenstachowa, whence it continues to Breslau. For convenience these three railways may be called, respectively, the Dantzig, Frankfurt, and Breslau lines.

The only other railroad of immediate interest is that which leaves the Breslau line at Skierniewiez, fifty miles west of Warsaw, runs

north, crossing the Frankfurt line at Lowicz and reaching the frontier at Thorn. This will be described as the Thorn line.

Now, at the points where all these four lines touch the German frontier,—that is, at the rim of the Polish wheel,—they meet German railroads which follow the frontier all the way, and for the purposes of our figure may be likened to the tire of the Polish wheel. These are the strategic railroads, so much mentioned in recent despatches, the most important of which extends all the way from the Dantzig to the Breslau railroad.

The military advantage of these railroads of the Germans is this: Russian armies advancing to invade Silesia, Posen, or East

Prussia must move along the lines which have been described as the spokes of the Polish wheel. Once they are well committed to such an invasion a Russian army, for example, moving along the Breslau line can only communicate and send reinforcements to another army moving along the Dantzig line, by sending troops all the way back to Warsaw, that is, up one spoke and down another. But the Germans, possessing the strategic lines along the rim of the wheel, could send their troops directly from Czenstachowa to Mława. Again, while the Russians would have to use the railroads needed to supply the armies in the field for such a concentration, the Germans would be able to use lines parallel, not perpendicular, to their front, and not used in supplying their troops actually in the field.

A glance at the map of German territories just inside the frontier from Poland will show that the region is a perfect network of railroads, thus affording many lines by which to move troops to the front as well as parallel to the front, while Russian Poland, save for the lines mentioned, is practically without railways, and these had been partially destroyed in November.

Thanks to these railways, then, the Germans possessed at the outset of the December campaign a tremendous advantage. Having much smaller armies to use, they were still able, by moving them rapidly from one point to another along the rim to maintain a superiority of numbers at the decisive point for a considerable period of time, while the Russians were endeavoring, with inferior communications, to meet a German attack. Here is the key of the December struggle.

IV. GERMAN STRATEGY

To describe the German strategy in the Polish campaign it is necessary to look back for a moment to the situation of November 20, the date at which I closed my review of the operations for November. At that date, it will be recalled, the German retreat from Warsaw had reached the Silesian and East Prussian frontiers and Russian troops had for the first time crossed the frontier of the Province of Posen. Contrary to the general expectation, the Germans had not made a stand at the Warta River, and for the first time in the war Poland was practically free of German invaders.

In their retreat from Warsaw the Germans had moved along the Frankfurt railroad, reached the frontier at Kalisz and were

apparently standing there. The main Russian army pursuing had reached the Warta, and at points passed it, moving toward Kalisz. The German left, much less considerable than the center at Kalisz, had retreated along the Thorn line and was now before Thorn. The German right had come back along the Breslau line to Czenstachowa, followed by a Russian army. At Czenstachowa it had united with the Austrian army, which had retreated from Ivangorod in Poland and was now defending the approach to Cracow on the north.

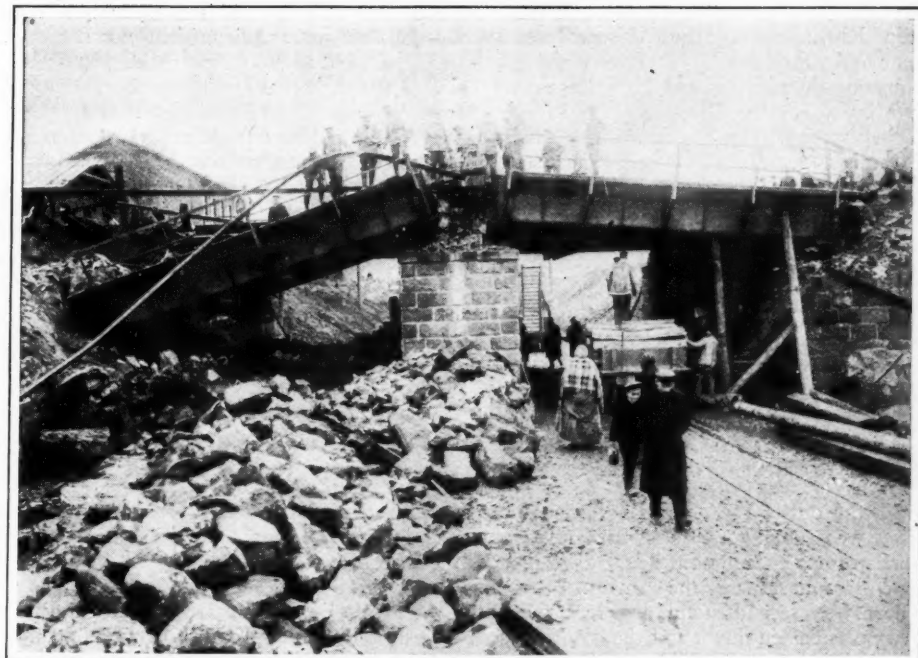
Meantime a Russian army in Galicia had swept westward to the very gates of Cracow, which was now under fire, threatened with complete investment and isolation from Vienna and Berlin. Russian cavalry was across the Carpathians. In the North the Russian army which in September had approached Königsburg in October retreated to the Niemen, and in November resumed the advance, was well within the East Prussian frontier, had taken Gumbinnen and was approaching Insterburg. Finally a third army was entering East Prussia by the Dantzig railroad at Mława.

In this situation the German General Staff found itself lacking in the necessary numbers to meet all attacks and defeat them at the same time. Russia now had manifest superiority in numbers in all fields. But if Germany could draw upon all her armies and make use of her superior transportation facilities, it was still possible for her to put in an army at a selected point which would be larger than the Russian and might make possible a repetition of the victory of Tannenberg in September, when the troops withdrawn from the West had been rushed into East Prussia and had destroyed a Russian army.

Even if no Russian disaster followed, it was fair to suppose that such a drive directed at the center might at the least compel the Russians to halt in their offensive in Galicia and East Prussia and despatch troops to the danger point to parry the thrust. Precisely this had been accomplished by the October advance to Warsaw. This would be a considerable profit for Germany, now facing the possibility of an invasion from the east, for Austria, Galicia, and Bukovina, all but lost, was weakening visibly. But if such a drive failed to achieve a Russian rout, did not avail to end the Russian attacks north and south, then it was perfectly clear to the world, to the German General Staff first, that no temporary occupation of Polish territory or cities would be of value. This detail should be



THE VISTULA AT CRACOW
(The Russians made many attempts to cross here)



RAILROAD BRIDGE ON THE KALISZ LINE
(Both German and Russian tracks crossed this bridge,—see map on page 51)

remembered always in considering this operation.

Such being the view of the German General Staff and such its necessities, about November 15, and from the front crossed by the Thorn railroad the Germans began a drive toward Warsaw and along the Thorn railway. The troops in this force had been drawn from all the German armies in the East, carried to Thorn by the strategic lines along the frontier, the rim of the Polish wheel. In front of them as they entered Poland was only a small Russian force, wholly incapable of meeting the coming storm, the main Russian armies being still at the ends of the Frankfurt and Breslau railway spokes.

V. ANOTHER TANNENBERG?

Look again at the map and it will be seen that the Thorn line as it comes east toward Warsaw crosses the Frankfurt line at Lowicz and meets the Breslau line at Skierniewiez. This latter town is half way between Warsaw and Lodz, the most considerable town in western Poland, and directly in the rear of the main Russian army in Poland, which had followed the Germans west along the Frankfurt line toward Kalisz.

Now, if the Germans coming east could take both Lowicz and Skierniewiez before the main Russian army could concentrate in front of it, they would be between the Russians and Warsaw, would hold the railway lines by which the Russians were supplied. If they were able to continue their advance they might get directly in the Russian rear.

If a second German army were sent east from Kalisz along the Frankfurt line following the retreating Russians, it might attack them in front while the Thorn army was in their rear. Were the maximum profit realized from this operation, the main Russian army might be driven in on Lodz and surrounded, its communications cut off, and in the end it might be destroyed either by battle or by lack of food and ammunition. Here was one of the most daring and splendid conceptions in the whole strategy of the Great War.

At the outset the advance of the Thorn army was completely successful. The first Russian force encountered was badly whipped at Wlaskwask, on the Vistula, east of Thorn. A second stand at Plock, on the river, was beaten down and the Thorn army, still following the Thorn railway, now turned south and swept rapidly on to Lowicz, took this town and a few days later seized

Skierniewiez, thus cutting both railway lines from Warsaw to Lodz. The main Russian army was now completely cut off from Warsaw.

Crossing the railways and continuing south, the Thorn army presently stood squarely in the rear of the main Russian army, which, by this time, had come back upon Lodz. Meantime the German forces about Kalisz had moved rapidly after the retreating Russians and were west and southwest of Lodz. At this point the Russians were almost surrounded, and presently lost control of the only railway that had remained open to them, that from Lodz to Ivangorod on the Vistula south of Warsaw.

Looking back over the reports of the late November battles, it will be recalled that at one point the official statements in Berlin forecast the approach of a great victory and the removal of the Russian menace. Von Hindenburg was made a Field Marshal for his success. This happened at the moment when the main Russian army was standing at Lodz, almost surrounded and apparently threatened with destruction. This was the first phase of what has been called the Battle of Lodz.

VI. A SECOND SEDAN?

Contrary to every natural expectation, the Russians did not at this critical moment stay their hand either in Galicia or in East Prussia. Instead, gathering up all their garrisons from Warsaw, from Novo Georgiewsk, from Ivangorod, calling out all available reserves, drawing regiments from the army which was at Mlawa, on the Dantzig railroad, they rushed them west along the Frankfurt and Breslau railroads, retook Lowicz and Skierniewiez and came down in the rear of the German army which had come from Thorn.

What followed was the most indescribable and inextricable confusion. A Russian army drawn up about Lodz, surrounded in a semicircle by two German armies, one to the west, the other to the north, was relieved by a Russian army which came south in the rear of that German army, north of Lodz, cut it off from all connection with the German army to the west, broke its railroad communication with Thorn, with Germany, and threatened a second Sedan.

It was at this stage that Petrograd, long silent while Berlin forecast victory, suddenly took up the cry, and English war correspondents at the Russian capital forecast a decisive German defeat. Patently the Germans were at this moment nearer disaster than at any



THE BRAINS OF GERMANY'S EASTERN CAMPAIGN: FIELD MARSHAL PRINCE VON HINDENBURG AND HIS STAFF
(Photographed on the steps of military headquarters in an unnamed town in East Prussia)



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A GERMAN ENCAMPMENT NEAR THE RUSSIAN FRONTIER

moment since the war began. Their escape will always remain a memorable military operation. All that is known of it as yet comes through Russian official statements in which the German exertions are described as "unbelievable."

What seems to have happened was that the Thorn army east and south of Lodz turned west and north, cut its way through the army which had enveloped it, not with artillery fire, but with the bayonet, broke down the barrier by sheer weight and desperation, finally opened a pathway, but at a cost in lives surpassing anything in the history of this terrible war. When the disaster seemed nearest, the Germans had at last to call upon their western armies for help, and several army corps hastily gathered up in Belgium and France were flung east in time to cover the retreat of the fragments of the Thorn army, after it had won clear.

When at last the tangle was cleared, it became plain that from Galicia to the Vistula, west of Warsaw, two battle lines faced each other, substantially intact, continuous, the Russian line bulging to the west at Lodz. After a few days the Russians evacuated Lodz and moved east, taking up its position in front of the Breslau railroad, holding Lowicz and Czenstochwa and resting on the Vistula east of Plock.

VII. DEADLOCK IN THE EAST

The capture of Lodz by the Germans provoked temporary German enthusiasm, promptly checked by German military authorities, who pointed out that the capture of the city was of little real value unless the Russian army which had occupied it could be decisively defeated. A similar explanation was presently made by Petrograd. The truth, of course, was that both Germany and Russia had failed to destroy an opponent who had been within two steps of ruin, but the German disappointment was the greater, because it was vitally necessary for Germany to relieve Galicia and Poland by her offensive, and she had so far failed. To capture Lodz was an empty triumph. Lodz had been in her hands from August to November. What was of moment was the fact that in her front the Russian army was still unbroken and her losses in a daring but abortive offensive had been colossal, had compelled her to weaken her western armies and thus abandon the offensive in Flanders.

By December 15 the German and Russian armies which had fought the Battle of Lodz

stood squarely face to face, but the Russians were rooted behind entrenchments recalling the German position at the Aisne. In the center and for the moment at least Russia had brought the German drive to a halt because her enormous superiority of numbers had enabled her to bring up reserves from her rear at the critical moment.

The whole purpose of German strategy had been to relieve Cracow. Look again at Cracow and it will be seen that it stands almost at the southern frontier of German Silesia. Were it in Russian hands the Czar could send his armies down the Valley of the Oder on either bank in the rear of the German armies in Poland and all industrial Silesia as far north as Breslau would be open to invasion. Austrian armies, too, would be crowded back beyond the High Tatra Mountains into Hungary and into Moravia, that is, away from the Germans.

In September, after Lemberg, Russian armies had passed the San and reached Tarnow on the Donajec, fifty miles from Cracow. Here the invasion of Russian Poland by von Hindenburg compelled them to halt. But now, by the first of December, new armies were across the San, the Donajec, were rolling on to Cracow from the east, while a second Russian army was coming south along the Breslau spoke of the Polish railroad system and was closing in on Cracow from the north and east. Only on the west was Cracow approachable for the Austro-German reinforcements now feverishly hurried to the imperiled town.

The Austrian situation was further disturbed by a new raid of Cossacks sent into Hungary, a move which resulted in an immediate appeal from Budapest to Berlin for protection, which Vienna could no longer give. In response Germany now sent cavalry regiments from the Western front. Austria, on her part, began to recall from Serbia troops which had just won a considerable victory and seemed at the point of crushing King Peter's little state. With these troops the generals of the two Kaisers undertook a desperate counter-offensive, the cavalry sweeping the Cossacks out of Hungary, the infantry trying to move through the Carpathian passes along the eastern foothills of the Carpathians and turn the southern flank of the Russian battle line, now extending from East Prussia to the Carpathians.

At the same time the German center before Lowicz and north of Lodz resumed terrific frontal attacks, striving again to cut the Breslau and Frankfurt railways, which had

been temporarily held during the Battle of Lodz. Finally from Mława a new offensive was driven east along the Dantzig railroad at Warsaw. Thus in front and on both flanks the Russians were compelled to face a new attack, while in East Prussia the two armies faced each other, waiting the decision to the south. By December 17, however, Petrograd claimed and Berlin conceded the decisive repulse of the offensive from Mława.

This was the third phase of the battle in the East, but it is plain that it had now become, not a question of strategy, but strength. In this situation there was reported a steady shifting of German troops from West to East, a patent diminution of German strength in Belgium and France, the recrudescence of French offensive in Alsace. Meantime in all the opening moves of this new operation the Russian lines held firm. By December 17 Petrograd reported that on all fronts the German attacks had been checked save along the Vistula between Łowicz and Iława where a German advance was admitted and emphasized the fact that the advance on Cracow continued. Berlin reflected a check by renewed warning to Germans not to expect too much in the East, while affirming confidence in ultimate victory and promising new progress for the Łowicz-Warsaw drive which was steadily developing, and by December 17 was described as a great triumph and the prelude to a decisive victory.

By this time, too, it was clear that the Napoleonic stroke of von Hindenburg's from Thorn had utterly failed; the second effort by the flanks in East Prussia and Galicia had met with a check, which might prove temporary. So far the German campaign had failed disastrously. At the price of the surrender of the offensive in the West, Germany had not relieved Cracow or cleared East Prussia. She had merely occupied some miles of Polish territory twice already swept by contending armies. So far Russia had scored notably, perilously, viewed from the Kaiser's position, and German failure coincided with the sudden illness of the German Emperor, who had personally viewed the operations in the East during the crisis of the second phase.

VIII. IN THE WEST

Measured by actual operations, the first half of December was in the West the least significant period of the whole war. In the last days of November the Battle of Flanders came to an end, German effort slowly subsided, Ypres, the Yser Canal, the line from the Lys to the sea north of Dunkirk remained

in the hands of the Allies, and only occasional attacks served to indicate that German spirit remained unsubdued. December 10 had been the day fixed by the Kaiser for the entrance into Calais, and on December 10 the Germans were no nearer this port than on October 10.

As the end of a period the close of the Battle of Flanders might well be compared with that of the Marne. At the latter the sweep to Paris was halted, turned back; a limit, and a permanent limit, to German advance in France was set. In Flanders six weeks of fighting had, so far as it was possible to judge, with equal definitiveness beaten down the advance to the Channel. Ostend the Kaiser's troops still held. At the little port of Zeebrugge they strove under the fire of British warships to make a base for German submarines, but Calais, Boulogne, Dunkirk,—these had escaped German occupation and the approach to Britain was still in hostile hands.

Yet if there were no considerable military events in the West, the fact that the Allies in this field again began to take the offensive was wholly noteworthy. With the fall of Antwerp on October 9 the German advance toward the coast had brought all Allied effort to a standstill. For six weeks it had required the utmost effort, absorbed the last reserve of the Allies, to hold back the masses of Germans driven south under the eyes of the Kaiser himself. Along the Aisne, north of Verdun, on the Heights of the Meuse, French effort to get up, move forward, relieve pressure, had failed.

But with the coming of December the German situation worsened visibly. Von Hindenburg's necessities in the East drew several army corps from France and Belgium. New British troops sent to Flanders relieved French troops, which presently became available for use on the Alsatian frontier. Heavy artillery brought up by the Allies at last answered the German. All along the line from Switzerland to the North Sea there began to be apparent new activity on the part of the Allies, growing inability on the part of the Germans to retain the offensive.

Thus, early in the month, French bulletins began to record progress along the entire battle line. It was a slight progress always, the taking of a trench, the final capture of some house which had been fought for for two months, the destruction of a battery which had long dominated a corner of the battlefield. There was in this time no conspicuous advance save in a corner of Alsace.



MAP TO ILLUSTRATE THE WAR IN WESTERN EUROPE DURING DECEMBER

Everywhere the impression was of a straining against the German lines along their whole length, the exerting of pressure which did not break through, but did retain in these lines the troops which would have made decisive victory in Poland possible.

It was plain that if the Germans could crush Russia decisively and bring back German corps from the East, they might again take the offensive in the West, but it was equally unmistakable that if the Russian danger continued to call for the deflection of corps from West to East, the time might soon arrive when it would be necessary to draw back from France and shorten the lines or risk such a disaster as overtook Lee before Richmond, when at last his lines about Pe-

tersburg had been stretched to the breaking point toward Five Forks.

IX. A SECOND INVASION OF ALSACE

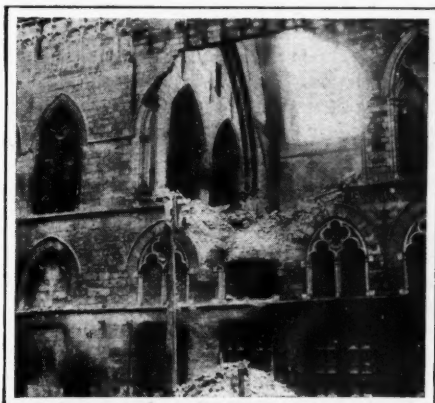
While the deadlock persisted from the Vosges to the North Sea, the French official statements presently announced the capture of various small towns in Upper Alsace, General Joffre visited the conquered region and assured the inhabitants that the French had come back to stay, and other signs pointed to a speedy resumption of activities on a portion of the battle line forgotten since late August.

The first invasion of Alsace in August, after various checks, carried the French into Muelhausen and Altkirch. Flowing east over all the passes of the Vosges from Saint



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THE RUINS OF ARRAS UNDER SNOW



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YPRES—ST. MARTIN'S CATHEDRAL WRECKED AND THE FAMOUS "CLOTH HALL" IN FLAMES



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THE MAIN STREET OF RAMSCAPELLE, BELGIUM, AFTER HEAVY BOMBARDMENT

Dié, to Belfort, the early invasion had taken root on the Alsatian Plain only to retreat when the German advance to the Marne compelled the concentration of all available French troops in the West.

In their turn the Germans had come west, crossed the same passes, occupied Saint Dié, approached Epinal, menaced Belfort. Now early in December the tide turned, and one by one the passes were again taken by French troops. The most considerable advance was down the valley of the Thur, the first valley north of Belfort. Thann, the town at the foot of the valley, was taken, the railroad toward Muelhausen occupied. At the same time another force moving northeast from Belfort along the foot of the mountains joined hands with the first and made a front facing Muelhausen and less than ten miles from it.

To the north the passes of the Schlucht and the Bonhomme were taken, and the French began to move down these valleys toward Colmar, the capital of Upper Alsace. Already winter had set in on the mountains, and the fighting was done in snowdrifts, the troops exposed to storm and cold, the suffering of the wounded recalling something of the famous incidents of the retreat from Moscow. By mid-December the French were masters of the whole Vosges region south of the Bruche valley, which leads down to Strassburg, and had been won and lost in August, but they had not yet made any substantial progress in the plain between the foothills and the Rhine.

The purpose of this campaign was twofold. In the first place, it made a new draft upon German resources in men and artillery; in the second, the moral effect in Germany of the knowledge that her own territory was being occupied on both fronts was bound to be considerable. In France, too, where the presence of the Germans in Champagne was exciting impatience, the news of the return of the French to the "Lost Provinces" was sure to have a useful influence, to be received as a promise for the future, an assurance that Alsace-Lorraine would be again French when at last peace came.

Viewed as a whole in Alsace, in Champagne, in Flanders, it was clear in mid-December that the strategy of Joffre was fairly comparable with that of Grant before Richmond. By steady pressure, by extension of the battle lines, by constant action, the French commander was seeking to compel his opponents, now inferior in numbers, to retreat, shorten their lines by withdrawing

from the Aisne to the Meuse, from France to Belgium, or run the risk of disaster as the superior numbers of the Allies continued to push against the whole German line, weakened by reinforcements sent to Russia. In this strategy there was little of brilliance, of spectacular circumstances, there was no suggestion of the fury with which the Germans had attacked in Flanders, in Poland, but there was an ever-growing sense of mastery, control, a promise of ultimate victory won by numbers and resources, not by dash or dazzling military skill.

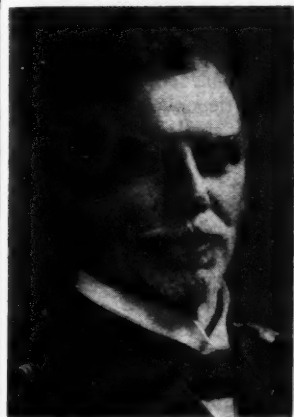
X. SEA POWER

In the second week in December the whole British people rejoiced over the most considerable naval victory of their nation since the Napoleonic era. Off the Falkland Islands a British fleet had at last accounted for the German warships which in November had sunk Cradock's squadron in the Pacific. Of five vessels four, the *Gneisenau*, the *Scharnhorst*, the *Leipzig* and the *Nürnberg* went down in the action; only the *Dresden* escaped for the moment at least.

By this victory German sea power abroad was reduced to the *Dresden*, the *Karlsruhe* and one or two converted merchant steamers. Save in the home waters German naval power was now extinguished, German colonies at the mercy of the enemy as Napoleon's had been. Kiao-chau and Togoland, New Guinea and the islands of the Pacific were lost, the Kamerun attacked, Southwest Africa certain to be invaded when the Boer revolt had been put down. The Kaiser had said, "Our future is on the sea," and the British answer to the challenge was now had.

In the previous months of the war there had been an evident tendency to exaggerate the success of the German Navy. Her submarines had sunk the *Cressy*, the *Aboukir*, the *Hogue*. Recently the *Audacious*, one of the newest of British superdreadnoughts, had gone down off the Irish coast; the *Bulwark* had blown up at Sheerness in the Thames. A long series of minor losses had irritated a public accustomed to the idea that British sea power was supreme and above challenge. For all this the victory of Sturdee off the Falkland Islands was sweet solace.

Yet such losses as the British had suffered from attack, from the activity of the *Emden* in the Indian Ocean, of the *Karlsruhe* in the Atlantic, were but insignificant when compared with the magnitude of the service of British sea power. Almost in a day the Ger-



© Brown Bros.

REAR-ADMIRAL VON SPEE

(German Commander who perished with his flagship, the *Scharnhorst*, in the battle with Sturdee)



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VICE-ADMIRAL STURDEE

(Victor in the naval battle with the Germans near the Falkland Islands last month)

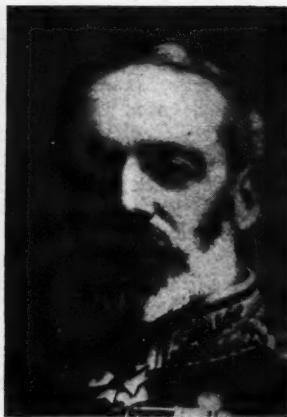
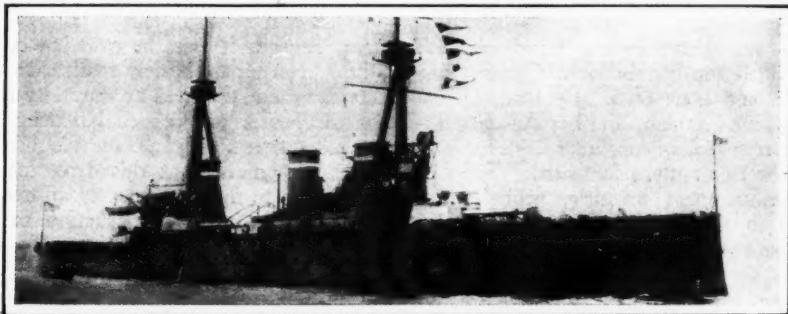


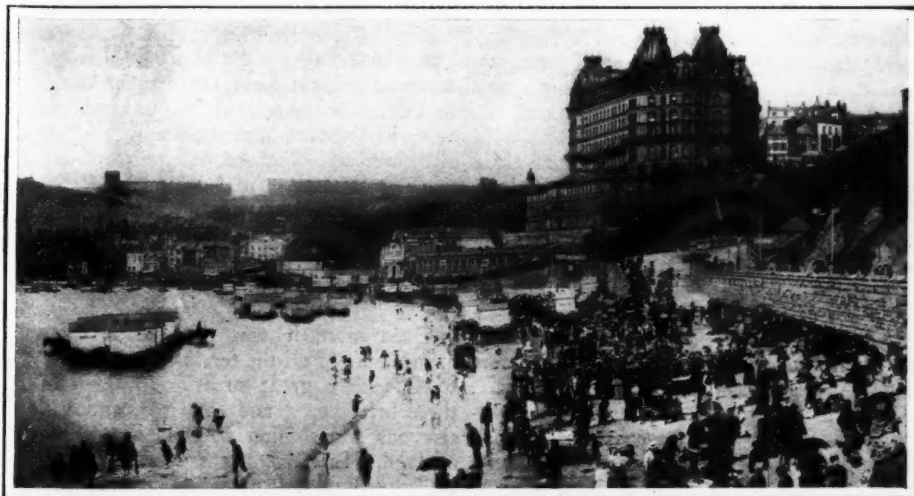
Photo by Bain

REAR-ADMIRAL CRADOCK

(Who went down with the *Good Hope* in the fight off the coast of Chili on November 1)



THE BATTLE CRUISER "INVINCIBLE," ADMIRAL STURDEE'S FLAGSHIP



A VIEW OF SCARBOROUGH, ENGLAND, BOMBARDED BY GERMAN SHIPS LAST MONTH

man flag had disappeared from the seas. Hundreds of thousands of tons of shipping had been captured; other ships lay helpless in neutral ports. Hamburg and Bremen had become as deserted as Savannah and Charleston when the Civil War was in progress.

Thanks to the control of the sea by British and French fleets, France had been able to bring her African troops to the battle line, England, her colonials and Indians. A Turkish attack upon Egypt was met by a concentration of Australian, Indian and territorial troops, by warships in the Suez Canal. Austria, like Germany, was cut off from the outside world. Through neutral states some supplies still flowed into Germany, but ever in decreasing quantities. German industry more and more suffered from the blockade, German exports fell to the vanishing point.

On the other hand, France and England were open to the commerce of the world. Their purchases in America were promptly transported to Europe. Supplies, clothing, automobiles, arms, ammunition,—all these things in vast quantities they purchased, and thus bridged the gap between German preparedness and their own. By land, by sea, the net about Germany and her Austrian ally steadily, remorselessly tightened. The isolation of the two nations increased. The neutrals, acting under pressure, ventured less and less to risk British menace by lending their ships to serve Germany's need.

As for the German high-seas fleet, it had lain idly in the war ports. The disparity between it and the British fleets was hopeless. Such losses as the Germans inflicted were of little real consequence. Winston Churchill, First Lord of the Admiralty, emphasized this in a speech in which he stated that England could lose a dreadnought a month for many months without losing any advantage now possessed over Germany. British naval authorities paid full tribute to the skill with which German captains had handled their ships. Cradock's disaster, the long life of the *Emden*,—these were proofs of German seamanship. But all this was of little consequence before the numbers of the British. The few ships of Germany abroad when the war came were steadily swept from sea to sea, overtaken, and sunk; and the German flag became a memory in ports where it had a few months before rivaled the British.

As if to avenge the disaster of the Falklands and warn the too-confident British public that the German Navy was still to be reckoned with, on December 16 a fleet of battle cruisers, slipping through the fog, sud-

denly appeared off the Yorkshire coast and, near the headland where Paul Jones won the first of the great American naval triumphs in foreign waters, bombarded British towns.

Scarborough, Hartlepool, Whitby, received their share of shells. For the first time in centuries English men, women, and children fled from their own shore to escape the shells of a hostile fleet and the warships of William II succeeded, as those of Napoleon had failed, in bringing home to the British people the meaning of war.

The whole incident was trivial from a military point of view. Less than a hundred people were killed, thrice as many injured, some thousands of dollars worth of property destroyed, for a half-hour three British cities suffered as those of Belgium had; then the ships again disappeared in the fog. But the moral effect upon England could not be exaggerated. Not fear but rage, an almost humorous indignation, at this German impudence in venturing to bombard British shores,—this was the conspicuous detail.

But beneath it was the growing evidence of new determination, new realization of the fact that the nation was at war. By this attack the Kaiser had proved Kitchener's best recruiting agent. By all the English press it was recognized that this drive might be the prelude to more attacks, to an extension of the plan to carry destruction to fortified and unfortified coast cities, the beginning of active naval operations which might presently lead to "The Day," when a new Carthage and a new Rome would fight for the supremacy of the sea.

For Germany this little triumph of seamanship and courage was a welcome interruption to the long month of deadlock on land and defeat on the seas. It was hailed as a national victory, but its consequences on December 18 seemed insignificant. Germany had proved that she could reach British shores and bombard defenseless towns,—this and no more. All England, now roused, waited, watched, as of old, for the coming of invaders from the North Sea.

XI. SERBIA TRIUMPHANT

Once more it was reserved for Serbia, prime cause of all the terrible conflict, to give to Europe a great surprise, the fourth in three brief years, and to win the most conspicuous and shining triumph of the month on land. In 1913, at the outset of the First Balkan War, when, with the memory of Slivnitsa in Europe's mind, Servian defeat



BELGRADE, THE SERBIAN CAPITAL, FROM WHICH THE AUSTRIANS WERE EXPELLED LAST MONTH
(The Danube River and the Austrian frontier in the background)



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AUSTRIAN PRISONERS OF WAR, BROUGHT BY THE SERBIANS TO NISH, ARE ALLOWED UNUSUAL LIBERTIES
(They are permitted to enter the town for the purpose of buying provisions and are here seen purchasing cooking utensils at one of the most popular stores in Nish)

by the Turks was prophesied by those most hopeful of Bulgarian victory, it was the Serb and not the Bulgar who proved irresistible, invincible, won back Old Servia at Kumanovo, Macedonia at Monastir, and captured the Turkish commander at Adrianople.

A few months later, when Austria had precipitated the Second Balkan War to destroy King Peter's nation, it was the Serb and not the Bulgar who again prevailed and the Battle of Bregalnitz as completely shattered the legend of Bulgarian invincibility as the reverse of Mars-la-Tour had wrecked that of France. The victims of a breach of faith, attacked by might and without warning, without declaration of war, the Serbs rallied, took the offensive, sent the Bulgars in rout back over the Rhodopians and restored to Servia the southern half of the empire of the great Dushan.

Finally, in the opening month of the Great War, when the fortune of the Allies in the West was most desperate, it was the victory of the Serb at the Jedar which opened the more prosperous period that culminated at the Marne. At the Jedar four Austrian army corps had been routed, Austrian prestige in the Balkans shattered, the first Slav triumph won in that long series which by December was to bring Austria to the lowest ebb in her history since the Hungarian Revolution.

On December 1 Servia was again in the presence of grave peril. The October drive of the Germans had released several army corps of Austrians in Galicia and Poland, and these came south to complete the work of destroying the troops of King Peter, who had for months defended their frontiers. Before this overwhelming force the Serbs had retreated. All the corner of Servia between the Save and the Drina was lost. Coming east from Bosnia the Austrian right approached Belgrade, which for four months had defied daily bombardment, the center reached Valievo, the left penetrated to Uchitz, on the Servian Morava. Presently Belgrade fell, a birthday present to the aged Francis Joseph, the only real conquest of his army in the whole struggle.

In the first week in December the fate of Servia seemed sealed. A second Belgium, another little state destroyed in the contest between the great, seemed assured. Austrian armies appeared certain to reach Nish, the temporary Servian capital, to open the Orient Railway to the Bulgarian frontier and persuade Bulgaria, still smarting from her defeat by Servia, to cast her lot with the

two Kaisers and open her territory for the passage of the Turks to the battle lines of western Europe.

In the moment of greatest peril, however, Servia was saved, partly by her own courage, by her own determination, without which destruction was inescapable, partly by the new advance of the Russians. While the Austrian troops were still before Belgrade Cossacks once more crossed the Carpathians, swept down into the Hungarian Plain, panic reached the very gates of Budapest, and three army corps were hurriedly recalled from Servia to defend Hungary. Once more at the critical moment the Austro-German alliance had to surrender triumph in one field because of deadly peril in another.

No sooner had the three corps been withdrawn than the Serbs again took the offensive. Old King Peter, now stricken in years and infirmities, but retaining something of the fire that earned him his cross of the Legion of Honor as a soldier of France in 1870, rode in front of his troops, mounted on a white charger, and harangued them as their chiefs of remoter centuries were accustomed to do. Then followed the most complete of Austrian disasters. In a few days the whole force had fled across the frontiers, leaving thousands of prisoners, cannon, material, behind them. Belgrade was retaken, by December 15 Servia was free of Austrians, saved for the time, perhaps for all time.

But the Austrian troops thus transferred to the Hungarian frontier presently began to flow over the Carpathians; for a second time Russian invaders were cleared out of Hungary, out of the Carpathian passes, and in the third week of December, when these lines are written, there is at last a measure of evidence to point to the possible drawing back of the Russian troops from before Cracow and in western Galicia, although Russian reports still insist that the fate of Cracow will be settled by a battle in its vicinity on a field selected by the Russian general staff.

What was most noteworthy in the days following the Servian victory was the first considerable evidence throughout Austria, in Vienna, in Prague, in Budapest, of discontent, weariness, desire for peace. However unbending German courage and determination still were, there was no longer any mistaking the declining spirit in the Hapsburg Empire, no mistaking the wrath and dejection which followed the triumph of that despised state, whose ambitions had led Austria to plunge the Continent in a world war.

LEADERS OF RUSSIA'S ARMIES

BY CHARLES JOHNSTON

[This article, not only sketches the careers of Russia's great military commanders, but sets forth succinctly (particularly on pages 67-68), some of the outstanding features in the reorganization of the army following the close of the Russo-Japanese War.—THE EDITOR.]

THE high and wholly unexpected efficiency of the Russian armies is one of the revelations of the war, as the splendid regeneration of France is another. But the new temper and power of the Russian army is only one of the many fruits of the new birth through which Russia passed, with throes of revolution, in the chaotic years after the war with Japan. From that new birth Russia came forth a constitutional monarchy, extending the fullest religious toleration to all the many-colored faiths and creeds within her dominions, and full of new energy and hope and power in every region of her national life. The renewal of her armies is only one among many signs of a deep national renewal, which bears immense promise for the time to come.



FOOT COSSACK

the Emperor Paul. Nicholas I had four sons: Alexander II, who succeeded him; Constantine, father of Constantine Constantinovitch, an imperial poet of distinction, known to Russian society as "Tin Tinitch," and of Olga Constantinovna, who married George, King of the Hellenes, and whose son, Constantine, now rules in Athens; Nicolai, father of the present commander-in-chief; and Michael, long Viceroy of the Caucasus.

When the Russo-Turkish war broke out in the spring of 1877, the Czar Alexander II gave to two of his brothers the chief commands in Europe and Asia; it is said that the remaining brother, Constantine Nicolaievitch, commemorated the fact in a verse which may be translated thus:

Through the Higher Powers,
What a fate is ours:
On the Danube Nick,
In Caucasia Mick!

a verse which hardly forecasts the poetic eminence of his son.

With Nicolai Nicolaievitch the elder, his son Nicolai Nicolaievitch the younger,—the present commander-in-chief,—then a young man of twenty-one, went down to the Danube and the Balkans, serving with distinction in the campaign of Plevna, Lovcha, and the Shipka pass, and receiving the coveted decoration of the Cross of St. George "for valor," under fire. During the intervening years, the younger Nicolai Nicolaievitch has been closely identified with the Russian army and the science of war. He has made himself familiar with the armies of other European nations, and in particular France, on several occasions being present at the annual maneuvers of the French army. At the outbreak of the war he was commander of the St. Petersburg military district, having under him a Corps of Guards and the First and Eighteenth army corps, from 120,000 to 150,000 men. It is sufficiently evident that he is something more than a titular commander, that he is a soldier of the first rank, an able and far-seeing strategist, entirely ca-

THE GRAND DUKE NICOLAI NICOLAIEVITCH

The regeneration of the Russian army began at the top, in the Czar's choice of the Minister of War. In that choice the Grand Duke who now commands the armies of Russia had, without doubt, an influential voice, and the man chosen has been for many years his personal friend. The Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch may almost be said to have inherited the supreme command of the Russian army, for his father, the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch the elder, was commander-in-chief of the Russian forces in European Turkey in the war of 1877. This elder Nicolai Nicolaievitch was the son of the Emperor Nicholas I, who was the younger brother of Alexander I, both being sons of

pable of handling the enormous masses of the Russian army, and, what is not less important, able to choose the right men to command the divisions of that army,—which are, indeed, great independent armies rather than divisions.

The present Nicolai Nicolaievitch inherits the great height and extraordinary physical strength of the Romanoffs, measuring some six feet five inches. In family groups he always towers above the others. Alexander I was an exceptionally tall man; so was his brother, Nicholas I; so were Alexander II and Alexander III, the son and grandson of Nicholas I. And both Nicolai Nicolaievitch the elder and his brother Michael,—the Nick and Mick of the poem,—were men of splendid physique, tall, well built, muscular. Nicholas I and his four sons looked like an assemblage of Norse gods in uniform. So the present commander-in-chief comes honestly by his eminent qualities.

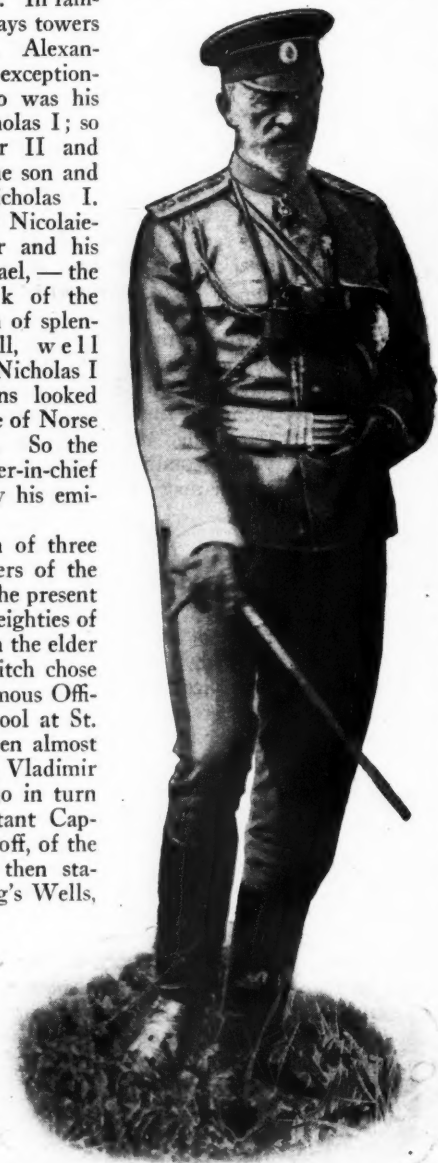
The association of three of the chief leaders of the Russian army in the present war began in the eighties of last century, when the elder Nicolai Nicolaievitch chose as head of the famous Officers' Cavalry School at St. Petersburg the then almost unknown Colonel Vladimir Sukhomlinoff, who in turn took as his adjutant Captain Alexei Brusiloff, of the Tver Dragoons, then stationed at the King's Wells, in the Caucasus mountains, south of Tiflis. The Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch, the elder, had long made a hobby of this cavalry school, as also of the breeding and training of

cavalry horses, and he and his sons gave to its development,—and its festivities,—a great deal of their personal attention.

SUKHOMLINOFF: MINISTER OF WAR

As head of the Officers' Cavalry School, Colonel Vladimir Sukhomlinoff gained a double success: he was very popular with all the officers who came there for two years' training, from regiments scattered over the eight million square miles of the Russian Empire; and at the same time he impressed them with the sense of his efficiency, his power to give them the best training in the best way. Also, he always conveyed the feeling of great reserved force. Tall, deep-chested, fair, inexhaustibly good-humored, he did much without ever appearing to exert himself. He smiled, said little, and did not seem really to let himself out. He was forceful, far-seeing, methodical, and did things rapidly and incisively, in such fashion that they did not need to be done over again. He inspired confidence. The authorities and the men who worked under him felt that they could rely on Sukhomlinoff, resting on his effectiveness, his moral and intellectual force.

When the war with Japan broke out, at the close of 1904, a large part of Russia's European army was sent east. But the most effective forces remained at home, guarding the western frontier, lest Russia's European neighbors might succumb to temptation. Among the guardians of the western frontier were General Sukhomlinoff, General Brusiloff, and the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch himself. So it befell that, in the period



GRAND DUKE NICOLAI NICOLAIEVITCH
(Commander-in-chief of the Russian armies)

immediately succeeding the war, General Sukhomlinoff held various military commands in the regions about Poland and the Prussian frontier, yearly taking part in the great maneuvers over the whole region that is now the seat of war. The value of this practical training, for his present task, it is impossible to overestimate.

When the Japanese war broke out, Kuropatkin was at the War Office. After the first defeats he himself went to the front, and General Sakharoff became War Minister. The breakdown of the Russian armies in Manchuria, in spite of Kuropatkin's dogged efforts, showed how defective the military system was, and the Emperor cast about for some one to put things to rights. He tried General Rudiger, but found, to use the Russian phrase, that that good officer "would not have discovered gunpowder." Then the lot fell on Sukhomlinoff, who came to the War Office in 1909, and at last it became evident that Russia had got hold of the right man. And at last the big, smiling, deep-chested man took his coat off and turned in with all his force. With the aid of the present commander-in-chief on the one side, and of effective parliamentary committees of the Duma on the other, he began to overhaul the whole military system, from the plumes of full generals to the shoes of the raw recruits.

The Japanese campaign had shown how incompetent the leaders of Russia's armies were. Sukhomlinoff began with the generals, setting himself to catch flies both with honey and with vinegar. First, the honey: he induced the elderly men, who were not specially competent, to retire, by increasing the retiring allowances and pensions. Then the vinegar: with the aid of the new constitutional forces, he organized effective committees on promotion, who followed up the do-

ings of commanding officers, especially at the annual maneuvers, watching how they actually handled their men in the field, under conditions as like as possible to actual warfare. In this way he got the really effective men into the responsible positions, and put a premium on vigor, energy, and genius. It was once again the "career open to talents."

It had been noticed that many of the ablest men among the younger officers, after serving a certain time in the army, had resigned from the service and gone into civil employ, finding higher pay and larger opportunities in the rapidly growing industrial life of Russia. General Sukhomlinoff and his committees set themselves to remedy this by raising the officers' pay, building better quarters for them, and in all ways making the soldier's life more attractive, more of a career.

Having got hold of better men, he set himself to train them better. The old Academy of the General Staff, which, "before the war," had given a highly technical training to a select few, opened its doors wider. Its courses were made more practical, more modern. Instead of preparing his junior officers to "explain" to their men what should be done, he fitted them to "show" the men, by doing it themselves. The difference is great.



GENERAL VLADIMIR SUKHOMLINOFF
(Russian Minister of War)

AEROPLANES OF RUSSIAN MAKE

Sukhomlinoff saw that a weak point in the Russian army was that too much of its equipment came from abroad: a vulnerable situation in war-time, as the present shows. So he set himself busily building up arms factories, cartridge factories, and so on, within the boundaries of Russia, and at the same time established a central laboratory where new mechanisms, explosives, inventions might be tried out.

He also organized,—and this gives us

the measure of his foresight,—a first-class school of military aviation, and set the best Russian mechanics at the development and manufacture of aeroplanes, which to-day take the place of cavalry as "the eyes of the army." The result is that, for the last four or five years, Russia has been making her own aeroplanes and training a large staff of officers able to use them. Sukhomlinoff also developed an effective corps of army automobiles, for the rapid transport of men and supplies.

IMPROVEMENT IN ARMY EFFICIENCY

One of the cardinal defects in Russian army organization brought out by the Japanese war was the slowness of her mobilization. The whole system was hopelessly swathed in red tape. Sukhomlinoff cut the tape. He established a school of railroading for officers, where the special work of getting troops rapidly into trains and moving them quickly was practically worked out. At the same time he revolutionized the forces and methods which lie behind the mechanical problem. The result we saw in the first weeks of the war.

It has long been clear that the Russian private soldier is, in many things, the equal of any fighting man in the world,—if he is competently led. Sukhomlinoff, having seen to the leading, now turned his attention to the well-being of the men in the ranks. "Before the war" with Japan a Russian regiment had been something like an old monastic community, where every member worked at some industry or trade. The theory was that the army should be self-supporting and save the state as much as possible. Sukhomlinoff and those who worked with him introduced the revolutionary idea that the chief purpose of the army was not to save money, but to fight.

So Private Ivan Ivanovitch was relieved of many heterogeneous tasks and set to turning himself into a first-class fighting man. His physical and mental training were taken up in a new way and a new spirit. His comfort was seen to. New, well-ventilated, sanitary barracks were built for him. Better food was provided, including an added quarter pound of beef daily. And, what appealed to him even more, perhaps, his pay and his tobacco allowance were increased. All this cost money,—a great deal of money; and only the large prosperity of the nation, together with the hearty coöperation between War Office and Duma, made it possible to get this money and spend it on the army.

RIDDING THE ARMY OF GRAFT

One thing more: Since the dark backward and abysm of time army contracts have been one of the warmest nests of graft in nearly every country under the sun. There was plenty of graft in the Russian army, and everyone knew it. Minister Sukhomlinoff and his committees set themselves to study its methods and to hunt it down, with the result that many leaks were stopped, and a new scheme devised whereby the corps commander,—the general who has under him a large military station with forty or fifty thousand men,—is himself responsible for the purchase of stores, and is expected to get as much as possible direct from the producers, from the farmers, or the agricultural associations, instead of getting them through contractors and middlemen. In this way an immense saving has been made, and things have been tightened up all round.

With the backing of the Duma, Minister Sukhomlinoff has been able to spend about \$300,000,000 yearly on the Russian army, with results that have already passed into history. It is not for nothing that they call him "the Kitchener of Russia."

GENERAL RENNENKAMPF

At the moment of writing it is not certain whether this may not be, if not an obituary, at least a valedictory address over the military career of General Rennenkampf, commander of the Russian army of the north. In any event, much may be said in his honor.

Paul Rennenkampf got his first training in the Caucasus, where the long struggle against the Moslem mountaineers had taught so many Russian soldiers the art of war. Then his fate carried him to the Far East, and, in the Chinese uprising of 1900, he put such fear into the Boxers that they called him the "Russian Tiger." In the war with Japan he was one of the few Russian commanders who came home with a higher reputation than he took thither, and his admirers openly said the whole war might have gone differently if only Kuropatkin had given him a chance.

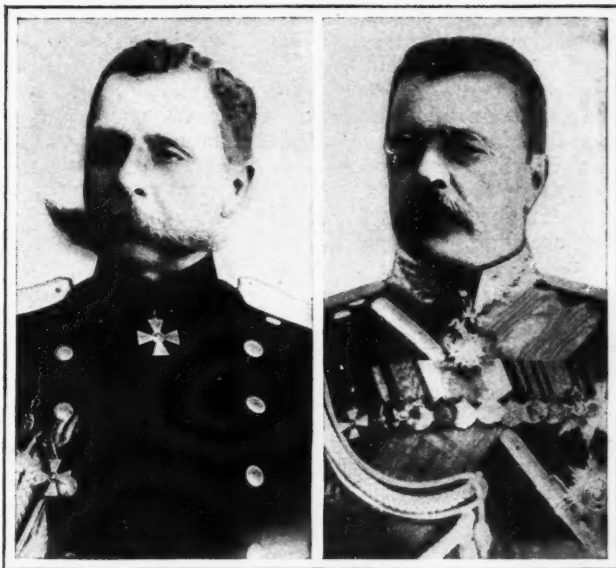
Rennenkampf was a cavalryman, and, when the Russian armies lay about Mukden, his place should have been on the right wing, in the plain. Instead of that, Kuropatkin sent him to the left wing, among the hills, where cavalry had no chance at all. But in the early spring of 1905, after Port Arthur fell, the death of General Mischenko, then in command of the cavalry on the right,

made an opening for Rennenkampf, who at last, during three weeks, was allowed full play with his mounted detachment. He has written a rather notable account of those three weeks' fighting, which makes every move vivid and real; but, for our purpose, even more interesting is his introduction, which, with the closing passages, give us an insight into the General's heart and hopes:

In the days of heavy thought and doubt (he writes, in the midst of the revolutionary chaos which followed the war), full of the discords and murk of life, I think of the simple Russian soldiers, the modest army-officers, as I saw them in the battles around Mukden. Vivid before my eyes rises the picture of companies and regiments melting away, the flower of the army sinking silently into the arms of death. And with the feeling of burning love for these men, there lives anew in my soul the hope, there arises once again the faith that the time of heavy trials and failures for our army will soon be over, and that once more, as in bygone days, the brave battle-cry may resound, the banner rustle in the breeze, the mighty, two-crowned eagle spread his wings; then with joy and confidence we shall hurry to the field of battle, to fight valiantly in the name of God and of the Czar. In the thought of this moment, one would live again, keeping one's strength for the coming dawn, taking part in the resurrection of Russia's renown from the dead.

There is genuine pathos in that, and in the closing words of the diary, in which General Rennenkampf expresses the passionate hope that "these griefs and sufferings will purify us, that they will raise us up to new deeds in the coming war, inspiring in us the firm determination to conquer or die without which no result in war is thinkable."

Rennenkampf has had his wish. He has lived to see the armies of Russia once more victorious, once more covered with glory. It is pathetic to think that some of the limitations of that victory and that glory seem to have sprung from his own failures. It is strange that, while Rennenkampf is the only one of the foremost Russian leaders who has seen active service under modern conditions, all the others appear to have done better than he. Perhaps he still thinks along the lines of 1905, failing to rec-



GENERAL PAUL RENNENKAMPF

GENERAL RUTZSKY

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ognize how completely war has been revolutionized.

GENERAL BRUSILOFF

At the outbreak of the present war General Rennenkampf was stationed at Vilna, eighty or ninety miles by rail from the frontier of East Prussia. General Brusiloff was stationed at Vinnitza, about the same distance from the frontier of Galicia, on the railroad that runs through Lemberg,—now, as anciently, known as Lvoff,—and Cracow. When war was declared each had simply to get into the train and go ahead.

Which gives us the occasion to view the general disposition of the Russian troops at the end of last July. We generally get the impression that, in case of war with her western neighbors, Russia is at a tremendous disadvantage, because her troops are scattered up and down over her eight million square miles of territory. In reality only the independent Siberian and Caucasian armies are far off. The European army, which, in time of peace, contains twenty-seven army corps, or about a million to a million and a quarter men, is, for the most part, disposed in a half-moon with Petrograd at one tip and Odessa at the other; and the bulk of these troops are in or near Poland and the frontier provinces, with Warsaw as the center.

Vinnitza, therefore, was the natural start-

ing-point for the invasion of Austria, and General Sukhomlinoff had this clearly in view when he sent thither his old friend and former adjutant of Cavalry School days. And General Brusiloff as naturally thought along these lines in the training of his troops, the disposition of maneuvers, the equipment of his aeroplane corps.

At the end of July all was ready, as all had been ready, month after month, for a long time before. For the Russian army was firmly convinced that Austria was bent on war; or at least bent on pushing a provocative policy against Serbia, which would make war inevitable.

Russia was pledged, as she had been before the last war with Turkey, to uphold the little Slavonic kingdoms to the south, which her armies had called into being, and had protected ever since. Austria's annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in the days of the Young Turks, had made her policy perfectly clear, and the present war is but the inevitable outcome of that policy. Therefore, the Russian army was convinced that war must come, and every plan was prepared and matured in expectation of it.

This explains in part the extraordinary swiftness and brilliancy of Russia's advance into Galicia, under General Brusiloff and General Rutzsky,—an advance which has already added a territory of twenty thousand square miles to the dominions of the Czar, territory which was Russian in the days of King Vladimir of Kieff.

But this in no wise diminishes the glory and credit due to General Brusiloff, who is,

in some ways, the most remarkable of the Russian commanders. Below the average height, he is slim and spare; a splendid horseman, who can outstride any man in his cavalry detachment; a keen and intuitive strategist, an excellent organizer, of splendid valor and brilliancy in the field, General Brusiloff is, like so many Russian soldiers, by nature a mystic, deeply religious, in thought a transcendentalist. For this very reason, perhaps, he is more, not less, practical, more, not less, determined in battle; for war, like all life, seems to him a spiritual activity, to be carried out, therefore, with the fiery energy of spirit and will.

Finely built, and always in perfect training, General Brusiloff is full of personal distinction. Among the group of generals who command the brigades and divisions of his army, one will easily pick him out as the leader. Like the

Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch, General Brusiloff has been an industrious student of the armies of other nations. He has more than once accompanied the Grand Duke to the great French maneuvers, and has had opportunities to compare them with the handling of the Kaiser Wilhelm's troops.

It is far too soon to cast up the values of the war, or to attempt to get an accurate view of the doings of one or another of the armies or their divisions; but one may confidently predict that when the whole story comes to be told General Brusiloff's name will be among those most highly honored.



GENERAL BRUSILOFF



Photograph by Brown Brothers

A SERBIAN BATTLEFIELD
(Notice the troops in the distance)

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE WAR

BY CHARLES FITZHUGH TALMAN

MILITARY geography is an application of both physical and political geography, but rather more of the former than the latter. Hence many of the so-called "war maps" that have inundated us since the present struggle began, and which are merely designed to orient us horizontally in the war zones, would hardly deserve their name, even if they were the work of a Stieler or a Bartholomew.

It is unfortunate at the present juncture, and indeed at all times, that physical maps of all parts of the world are not as numerous and as easily accessible as political maps. The ideal "war map" would give as much emphasis to the relief and character of the ground, and to climatic conditions, as to the location of frontiers, rivers, towns, railways, and the like; or rather, as it is impracticable to include all these features on the same chart without confusion, we should have a series of "war maps" for any region involved in hostilities.

THE VERTICAL DIMENSION

Relief has always been an important factor in warfare. It is more so to-day than ever before, on account of the increase in (1)

the size of armies, and (2) the weight of the artillery employed in the field. The recent campaign along the Franco-German frontier illustrates this fact in a striking manner.

When Hannibal invaded Italy he was obliged to cross a great mountain barrier—the Alps. This feat he accomplished in fifteen days, at the end of which time he found himself in the enemy's country with about 26,000 men, *i.e.*, less than a single modern *corps d'armée*.

At the opening of the present war the number of soldiers aligned on either side of the rugged border between France and Germany amounted to, say, a million and a half. Exact figures are unnecessary, as we are considering only the order of magnitude in its effect on operations under certain conditions of topography. Now consult the best available hypsographic¹ map of Europe, or of the

¹ Relief is shown on maps by means of hatchings, contour lines, shading, or tinting; or by actual relief models, or photographs thereof. The tinted map (generally in a few shades of buff and green, and often combined with hatchings) is the best for showing at a glance the broad features of elevation, and the approximate values of mountains, plateaux, etc. A very useful collection of such maps will be found in "The Continent of Europe," by Prof. L. W. Lyde (N. Y.: Macmillan Co., 1913).



THE FLAT COUNTRY INTO WHICH THE GERMAN DEFENSIVE HAS EXTENDED IN NORTHERN FRANCE AND BELGIUM

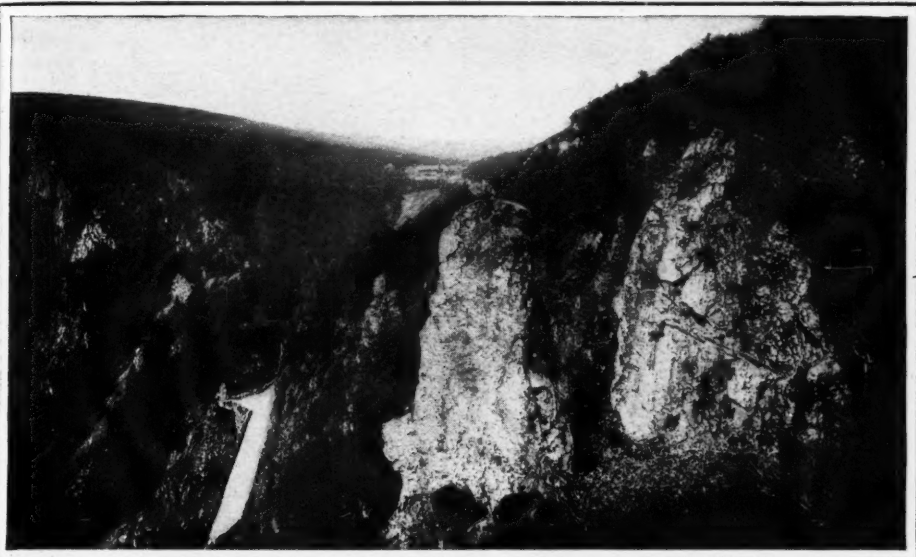
western war zone, and it will at once appear why neither the French nor the Germans were inclined to emulate the methods of Hannibal. First, as to the French. The Franco-German frontier is not wholly mountainous, though it is largely so; moreover, it is pierced by certain broad passes, or so-called "gates," which appear to constitute tempting routes of invasion, and have, in fact, served as such in the past. With the French it was not merely a question of effecting entrance into Germany by way of gaps in the natural frontier, but of fighting onward toward the heart of the Empire through hundreds of miles of rugged, mountainous country lying beyond it. The great mountain masses on both sides of the Rhine, most heavily forested, obviously make a French invasion of Germany a vastly more difficult undertaking than a German invasion

of France. This was shown last month.

The Germans, on the other hand, already concentrated in immense numbers at Metz, Strassburg, and other places within easy striking distance of the passes, had no serious natural obstacles to surmount,—once they had solved the problem of getting a huge army well into France. A network of strategic railways facilitated their approach to every favorable point of ingress; the French fortresses along the eastern frontier would have suffered the fate reserved for Liège and Namur; topographical obstacles (mountains, forests, and deep-cut river-gorges) all lay within a hundred miles or less of the border; and beyond these the valleys of the Seine and the Marne, and the gentle slope of the Paris Basin, offered ideal conditions for sweeping onward—downhill—to the French capital.



FLOODED LANDS NEAR ANTWERP



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THE ROCKY SCHLUCHT PASS BETWEEN THE FRENCH DEPARTMENT OF VOSGES AND ALSACE

What actually happened can best be explained by considering what would happen if the waters of the Rhine should suddenly rise to a stupendous height along the whole course of the stream between Basel and Bonn, and if at the same time a gigantic upheaval of the land occurred along the right bank of the river, and again along a line from Bonn to Aix-la-Chapelle, so as to prevent any escape of the waters toward the east or north. Under these conditions the flood-wave, sweeping westward, would find its passage more or less impeded along the whole Franco-German border, but would nevertheless enter France in jets and trickles and narrow streams, which might subsequently reunite in a broad flood. The bulk of the water would, however, do just what the bulk of the German army did—inundate Belgium. At this point our simile breaks down, because the literal flood would pass on across southern Holland and into the North Sea, rather than into France.

This comparison of a modern army to a huge body of water is not made for rhetorical purposes, but to show why natural frontiers have become more valuable for defense than they ever were before, and why many historic "routes of invasion" are not available in a modern war between great nations. The time required for the passage of a given volume of water through an orifice of given dimensions can be easily calculated, and such calculations are constantly made by engi-

neers. It is not necessary to go back to the days of Hannibal to find cases in which a very destructive flood, metaphorically speaking, was small enough to pass quickly through a small orifice,—and in this metaphor I include among "orifices" not only mountain passes but practicable roads of any sort.

Time was when an invading army marched along a road. If the German host that invaded France had done this, the column would have been much over 1000 miles in length, and, assuming the railways to be destroyed by the retreating French, the act of crossing the frontier would have occupied at least three months. An invasion of a million men, against powerful opposition, is not made by a road, but by a number of parallel roads, and the intervening topography must be such as to enable the advancing columns to keep constantly in touch with one another. I am not a military critic, but it seems to me sufficiently obvious that the German violation of Belgian neutrality was a direct and absolutely inevitable response to topography, given the size of the armies engaged on each side; that the location of French forts was a minor consideration; and that the circumstances which impelled Germany to choose the Belgian route in invading France would, *a fortiori*, have forced France to choose the same route if she had invaded Germany.

The weight of modern mobile artillery probably enters into the question, but to what



BELGIAN DOG-TEAM TOILING UP A SAND-HILL

extent is still uncertain. German strategy hinged upon the use of colossal siege guns to reduce the French frontier forts and ultimately to batter a way into Paris. Assuming these to be safely delivered by the German

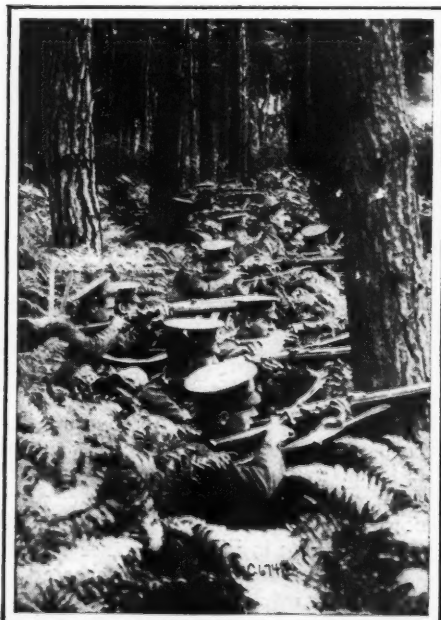
railways at the Franco-German border, the map suggests serious obstacles to their progress in northeastern France, while the gradients and the general character of the country along the route through Belgium were all that could be desired.

As to the relief features in the eastern war zone little need be said. There is no natural frontier between Russia and Germany, while between Russia and Austria-Hungary the political frontier is materially dislocated with respect to the natural frontier,—which is the Carpathians. From the Polish frontier toward Berlin the general slope of the land favors a Russian invasion, and the river valleys, especially those of the Warthe and the Oder, offer natural highways for such an invasion.

WHAT KIND OF COUNTRY?

It is impossible to say anything novel about the surface features of the principal war zones, because these have constantly obtruded themselves in the daily war news, and must have become familiar to everybody. Recapitulations are, however, sometimes serviceable.

The Vosges are real mountains, with peaks from 4000 to 4600 feet above the sea. In the Grandes Vosges, which lie on the Franco-German frontier, the summits frequently take a rounded shape, and are known by the apt



BRITISH TROOPS IN THE COMPIEGNE FOREST



THE MARSH AND LAKE COUNTRY IN WHICH RUSSO-GERMAN FIGHTING HAS TAKEN PLACE
(The whole of this district in East Prussia is dotted with lakes)

name of *ballons*. Up to about 3600 feet these mountains are heavily forested, chiefly with beech and pine. The higher summits, above the tree-line, are covered with grass, and afford pasture to large herds of cattle. Only one railway,—at Belfort,—crosses the portion of these mountains lying on the frontier; the tortuous carriage roads are easy to obstruct and to defend.

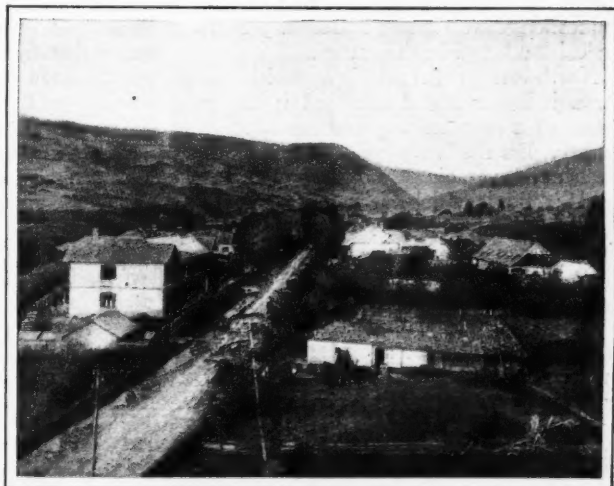
West of the Vosges lies the wooded valley of the Moselle, and then the great Langres Plateau, which contains the headwaters of the Seine and the Marne. This is a sterile, monotonous country; generally wooded, and sparsely populated. Beyond it lies the basin of the Seine, an abundance of good roads, and, on the whole, good campaigning country all the way to Paris.

North of the Vosges and the Langres Plateau, near Toul and Nancy, there is a remarkable breach in the wall between France and Germany, giving passage to the Rhine-Marne Canal, a trunk line of railway, and magnificent roads. This is the most vulnerable point on the Franco-German frontier, and one of the principal streams of invasion recently poured through here, in the shape of the Army of the Rhine.

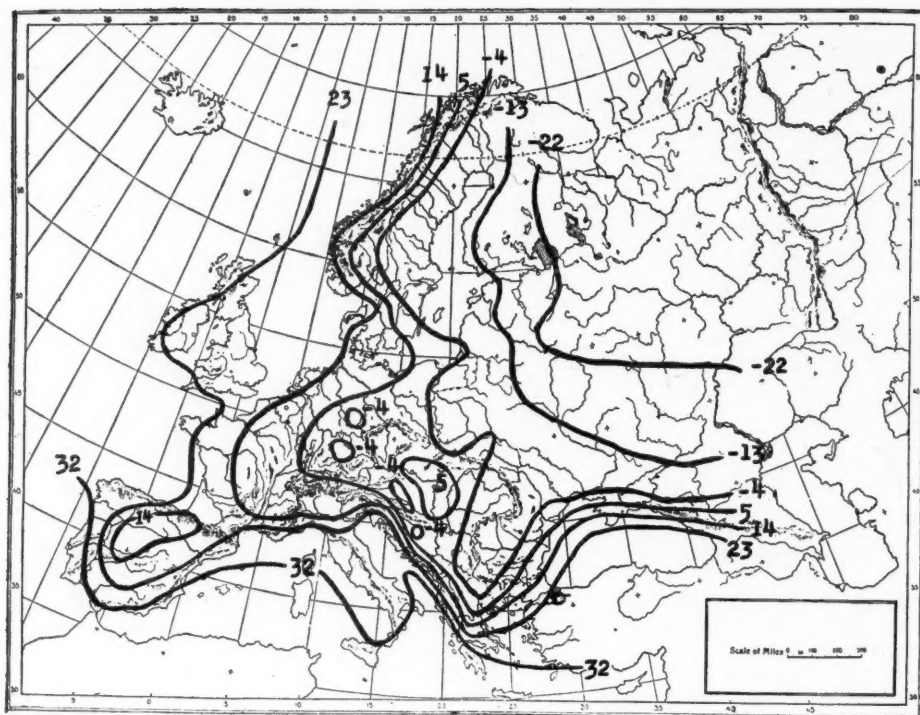
Yet farther north the dominating feature is the forested plateau of Ar-

gonne, bordered on the east by the Meuse and on the west by the Aisne. This region, commanded by the great French fortress of Verdun, has been the scene of continual and desperate fighting in the present war, and the inability of the Germans to force a passage here is easily explained by the character of the country, which is exceedingly rough, with precipitous ravines and a substantial remnant of the dense forests that played so important a part in the campaign of 1792.

The eastern half of the Franco-Belgian border traverses another heavily wooded plateau, the Ardennes, with the somewhat lower uplands of the Fagnes and the Famenne along its northwestern border. This plateau



A CARPATHIAN VALLEY IN GALICIA



(Adapted from Van Bebber)

NORMAL MINIMUM TEMPERATURES IN EUROPE (FAHRENHEIT)

(This chart shows the coldest weather likely to be experienced during an average winter. The minus sign indicates temperatures below zero)

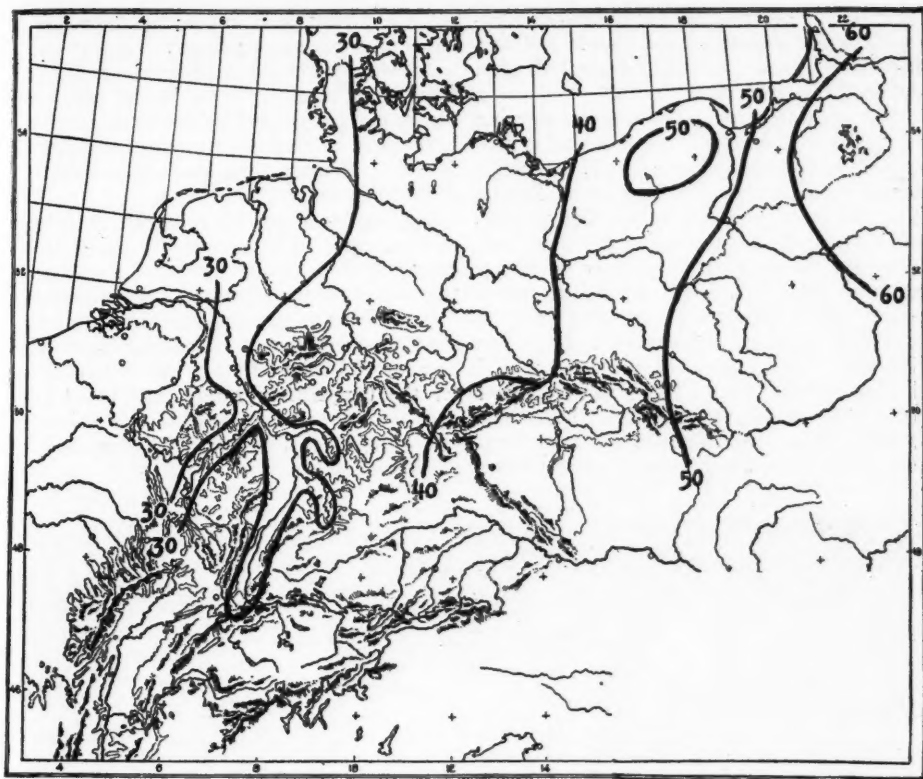
is even more rugged than the Argonne. It is pierced from south to north by the gorge-like valley of the Meuse, with bold limestone cliffs, rising in places a sheer five or six hundred feet, and crowned with picturesque towns and castles quite suggestive of the Rhine. Dinant, so often pictured of late in connection with the war bulletins, presents a typical landscape in this valley.

Northwest of the Sambre, which winds through low, wooded hills and is the main artery of a great mining and manufacturing country, lies the low plateau of Hainaut and Brabant (averaging 300 feet above sea-level); "the lazy Scheldt"; and the flat lowland of Flanders. This country is a labyrinth of canals and sluggish streams, much given to floods. All of Flanders is low, especially a broad zone along the coast, no eminence of which, except the sand-dunes, exceeds a dozen feet above sea-level, while in the neighborhood of Furnes the land lies as much as seven feet below sea-level. Naturally, dikes are required to hold the waters in check. Western Belgium, with its canals and polders, is, in fact, a second Holland. The population is extremely dense, and good

roads, railways, and tramways abound everywhere.

Last of all in the western war zone we have the northern half of what is called the Paris Basin, stretching northward from the Seine. This is mainly a great belted plain, the land sloping gently upward away from Paris, and at intervals dropping in escarpments that face toward Germany. West of the Oise the country is almost wholly agricultural and industrial; south of the Oise and the Aisne there are extensive forests, as well as tracts of farmland and vineyards. This country is, of course, thickly settled and provided with an abundance of splendid roads.

In marked contrast to these populous western lands, with their admirable communications, is the vast plain and plateau region of East Prussia and Russian Poland, so much of which is wild and sparsely settled; with great wolf-haunted forests, huge bogs, innumerable lakes and generally few and indifferent roads. The difficult campaigning country of East Prussia is of immense strategic value to Germany, furnishing an almost impregnable position from which to strike at



NUMBER OF DAYS ON WHICH SNOW FALLS DURING AN AVERAGE GERMAN WINTER (AFTER HELLMANN)

the communications of a Russian army advancing through Poland.

Finally, Galicia, north of the Carpathians, is a plateau region, quite densely populated (240 inhabitants per square mile), and well provided with roads. Nearly half the total area of the province is farmland, about one-fourth woodland, and the rest mostly meadow and pasture, less than a quarter of one per cent. being lake and swamp.

THE CLIMATE

The fundamental facts concerning the climate of the portions of Europe with which we are here concerned are that (1) the winds are prevailing from westerly quadrants, and therefore blow from great bodies of water,—the Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Baltic,—giving to the adjacent lands much moisture and a moderate range of temperature; and (2) the weather is very changeable, under the influence of a constant procession of “highs” and “lows” (anticyclones and cyclones), though hardly so changeable as in the northeastern United States, because European storm-tracks tend to run far north-

ward, over Scandinavia and northern Russia, so that the regions where fighting is now in progress often feel only the brief border influences of these passing disturbances.

In the western war zone the lowlands have virtually a marine climate; the summers are cool, while the winters are generally not cold, measured in terms of the thermometer, though they are so moist as to be extremely uncomfortable to men in the trenches. “Zero weather” (on the Fahrenheit scale) is not unknown in this region, though it occurs only at intervals of several years. Snow falls on several days each winter, but it is almost never heavy. The winters are cloudy and foggy. In the highlands, such as the Ardennes and the Vosges, the winters are decidedly rigorous, and the snow is often deep enough to interfere seriously with military operations. On the upper slopes of the Vosges winter temperatures of 10 degrees below zero (Fahr.) are not uncommon, and the snow lies here half the year 'round. Throughout the western war zone the temperature during an average summer rarely rises above 90, while hardly once in a decade does it rise to

95. All in all, this region has cooler summers, milder winters, more clouds and fog, and more frequent but lighter rainfall, than the northeastern United States.

The theater of operations in the east has a transition climate between the marine conditions of western Europe and the continental conditions of the interior of Russia. The summers are hotter and the winters much colder than in the region just described. The climate of East Prussia is somewhat tempered by winds from the Baltic, yet in an average winter there are from forty to fifty days on which the temperature does not rise above freezing in the afternoon, and there are from 110 to 140 nights in the year on which the thermometer falls below the freezing-point. At Königsberg the temperature does not fall below zero nor rise above

86 in a normal year, but inland the range of temperature is much greater.

In Russian Poland snow lies on the ground from sixty to eighty days in the year, and the rivers are generally ice-bound from the latter part of December to the beginning of March. Temperatures above 90 are not uncommon in summer.

Galicia has short, hot summers, and long cold winters. The severity of the latter is especially due to the fact that the Carpathians prevent the ingress of southerly winds. Przemyśl has in recent years known a minimum temperature of 13 below zero, and Lemberg 18 below, though in a normal winter the temperature rarely falls more than 5 or 6 degrees below zero in this province, except in the mountains. The snowfall is abundant.



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WINTER TIME IN THE TRENCHES AT YPRES

(The soldiers in the trenches began in November to feel the blasts of winter and suffer hardships due to the cold)

THE PRESS AS AFFECTED BY THE WAR

BY OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

(President of the New York Evening Post)

FOR one thing this war has made it impossible to revive to any extent the old charge that the newspapers brought it on. Unquestionably, the Austrian press had much to do with preparing the public mind for the ultimatum to Serbia, the sensational murder of the Archduke giving it the excuse for every sort of accusation and hostile attack upon their small but, to them, pestiferous neighbor, Serbia. In England the *London Times*, during the critical days from July 28 to August 3, printed a series of despatches from St. Petersburg of which it will not be maintained that they made for anything else than bad blood, though they must have given immense satisfaction in the Czar's capital.

Other British newspapers of jingo type, Conservative and Liberal, eagerly upheld the Foreign Minister, for whom Bernard Shaw hopes a reduction at least to the rank of Prime Minister as a result of this national crisis, so that he may not have the power to involve England in war all by himself. But the time was so short between the first alarm and the actual beginning of hostilities that the Hessians of the press were not able really to bring their batteries into action, particularly in Germany, where early appreciation of the overwhelming magnitude of the danger added sobriety to their first-page leaders.

WAR DOES NOT BENEFIT THE NEWSPAPERS

By and large, the press was as much surprised by the suddenness with which the tornado burst as anyone else. There was no time given prior to hostilities for the mobilization of correspondents and scouts. Veteran war reporters, usually able to scent trouble from afar, and ready for the first shots, were caught unprepared and far from the scene of action. The paralyzing of ocean traffic made it all the more difficult to reach the front, and when the correspondents did finally arrive there, never was a military front so coldly inhospitable.

For another thing, if this war lasts as long as Lord Kitchener prophesies, it ought

effectually to dispose of the familiar popular fallacy that war is a good thing for the press. Newspaper men have put up with no more trying person than the friend who slaps them on the back and says, "Well, old man, this war may be bad for some kinds of business, but it's fine for yours." Nothing could be further from the truth. Newspapers, for some devilish reason or another, may incite to war, as did some of our "yellows" in 1898, and the *London Times* prior to the Boer war, but they pay a pretty price for it even when it does not bring with it a national industrial and financial depression. There is nothing that a business manager or managing editor dreads as much as war, for nothing so quickly sends up the budget. There are the special correspondents and their expenses, the costly pictures to illustrate their articles; the staff photographers, when such are permitted; the cost of extra news services and of the reports of such star syndicate writers as Richard Harding Davis.

THE INCREASED COST OF NEWSPAPERS IN WAR TIMES

The cable tolls go up with such rapidity that one great New York daily has sent an expert editor to London merely to take out the needless words from cable messages, and he is understood to be much more than covering his salary by the savings he makes. Thus far the Associated Press, which serves 900 American newspapers, has met the enormously increased cost of cabling by cutting down on its domestic news and drawing on its surplus.

Not in the lifetime of men of fifty has so little news about the rest of the country appeared in the Eastern press as in these last few months. On one day in September two of the leading New York newspapers, which contained five and six pages of cable news from Europe, printed, one of them only three and the other four despatches from any domestic points outside of New York, excepting Washington. Not until election time came was there a substantial change in this situation. Thus, among the

curious effects of the war has been a temporary news isolation of the West, South, and North from the East.

Then there are the extra editions. They involve heavy expense, not only in composition and paper, but in actual handling. There are extra trips to be made by wagons and bundle-carriers, while the cost of expressing and mailing of bundles to suburbs and nearby cities has to be met. But, says the layman, you are selling more newspapers and so making plenty of money. Unfortunately for the newspaper publisher, this is not true, particularly for the newspapers sold at one cent. The proceeds from the sale of copies of the newspaper never meet the cost of the paper upon which they are printed unless the issue is held down to twelve pages, so that increased circulation, unless accompanied by increased advertising, is a loss. In fact, the average publisher regards a large circulation as undesirable in itself, but as a means to an end. He wants a large output so that he may influence the advertiser to pay him for announcing his goods, for, as few laymen can seem to understand, it is the advertising which supports our journals and gives them their profit.

MANY PUBLICATIONS MUST SUSPEND

But, the reader may ask, if you obtain an increase in advertising with an increase in circulation, does not a war largely add to a newspaper's advertising revenues? To this the answer is that a war checks advertising fully as effectively, if not perhaps more quickly, than a financial panic, and this applies to magazines as well as to dailies. This is particularly true of the present struggle. *T. P.'s Weekly*, the well-known London publication, declared soon after the outbreak of the war that if hostilities lasted a year a handful only of the strongest English dailies would escape bankruptcy. A superficial perusal of the *London Times* and the *Manchester Guardian* is sufficient to convince anybody that this is not a wild prophecy. The cessation of certain lines of advertising is complete; the loss as compared with conditions a year ago is staggering.

It is reliably reported in newspaper circles that the *London Times'* advertising revenue from America alone dropped \$10,000 in a single month. Already some of the weaker British publications have begun to go down. One important church publication, laboriously built up, has had to curtail its appear-

ance, and a reform organ, just reaching the point where it could show a satisfactory balance-sheet, has been wiped out. When one picks up a London evening newspaper like the *Westminster Gazette* and sees the almost total dearth of advertising, it is easy to foresee plenty of journalistic wrecks along the Strand unless there are sufficient rich men found to foot the deficits for personal or political reasons.

THE GREAT LOSS OF ADVERTISING REVENUE

In this country, too, the war has had a grave effect upon newspaper advertising income. All financial and steamship advertising has practically ceased. Publishers find a market chiefly for war books and are advertising less than usual. And so it goes. The three strongest advertising mediums in New York lost, between August 1 and December 1, 1089, 1488, and 2926 columns of advertising, respectively, as contrasted with their showing for the same months in 1913. If we assume, very conservatively, that they usually receive on an average of \$80 a column, this represents a falling off in income of \$87,120, \$115,840, and \$234,080, respectively.

When to this are added the enormously increased costs due to the gathering of war news, even the layman can understand why it is that newspapers are reducing the number of their reporters and editors, cutting off all special domestic despatches, and striving in every way to decrease expenses. If this results in cutting out some unnecessary waste and the devising of more economical methods, the gain is none the less comparatively slight. The reader can appreciate, in short, why it is that from the point of view of their own exchequer newspapers ought to be the chief advocates of peace.

It is quite possible,—even a journalist must admit it,—that if a number of newspaper wrecks should occur with a resultant decrease in our journalistic output, the thinking American public might regard this not as one of the horrors but as one of the pitifully few blessings that come out of such a horrible strife as we are now witnessing. The trouble is, as the English experience has shown, that some valuable journals of small means may go down, while richer and less desirable survive.

If we turn from the embattled counting-rooms to the editorial departments, we find the editors also grappling with war problems of the utmost difficulty, intensified by the

fact that the great bulk of the war news must come through London and is subjected to British censorship. London has always been, besides the greatest financial mart, the world's chief exchange and clearing-house for news. When, therefore, the British cut the German cables to this country they took a step which has done much to intensify the bitter feeling against Great Britain that now pervades all Germany to such an extent as to leave comparatively little room for animosity against the other Allies.

THE BRITISH CENSORSHIP

If the Germans are manifestly wrong in attributing to the cutting of the cables their failure to win American public opinion to their side, they undeniably have a just grievance against the British censor and so has the American press. To those conversant with the facts as to the stupidity, the one-sidedness, and the political bent of the British censorship, this war has given a severe shock; it will be hard for them to believe again in the good sportsmanship of Englishmen.

STUPIDITY OF THE CENSORS

The London censorship has been a disgrace to England primarily because of its folly. Thus, dozens of German official despatches were not permitted to pass over the cables, although they were being received in New York by wireless via Sayville at the same time. As if there were no mails from Italy, the London censor suppressed the late Pope's call to Catholics to pray for peace, on the ground,—so it is believed in some quarters,—that the United States, being a great Catholic country, it would not be to England's advantage to have American Catholics praying for peace!

Another stupid half-pay colonel twice gave out important news items to the Central News or the Hearst News services, because, he said, they served only a few newspapers, perhaps fifty, and denied it to the Associated Press because it supplied news to 900 newspapers! Not content with suppression, these same half-pay colonels next edited an important utterance by President Poincaré, of France, changing it to suit their taste because they did not like some of the things he said and did not wish the English public to know them. This was a typical case, but by no means the only one of alteration of despatches.

The censors have not stopped there, however; they have censored or suppressed their own Prime Minister's speeches and those of

the Foreign Minister on the ground that they would create an unfavorable impression abroad. They have laid heavy hands on the King's messages to India and the Dominions, and even the outgivings of their own press bureau.

Although Winston Churchill solemnly promised at the beginning of the war that every naval loss would be promptly reported to the House of Commons, the sinking of the *Audacious* was carefully suppressed both at home and abroad. They have so completely concealed all news of the military movements and progress that at the censors' doors are laid the responsibility for the slump in recruiting which so frightened the British Ministry until the story of the gallant retreat of Sir John French's army was made known through the publication of the narrative of the eloquent official reporter, Col. E. D. Swinton. It is generally believed in newspaper circles that the responsibility for this rigid censorship rests with Lord Kitchener, whose dislike for correspondents is notorious. The late Lord Roberts, on the other hand, was much more favorably disposed; indeed, he owed not a little of his great reputation with the English public to such brilliant correspondents as Archibald Forbes and Bennet Burleigh. No one could accuse men of this type of doing mischief. Besides keeping the British informed of the progress of their various small wars, they more than once enriched literature.

With the suppression of the news of military movements there can be no quarrel; the concealment of the news of the loss of a ship is, of course, legitimate from the military point of view. Indeed, with an efficient military censorship no one can justly find fault.

RIGHT AND WRONG CENSORING

But what the American press is complaining about is that the British censorship is turning from a military into a political one. American journalists have the right to assert that it is beyond the functions of a foreign censor to say whether Americans shall or shall not receive news of a Papal letter; whether they shall be given a falsified account of a speech by the President of France, and whether there is any news from Germany which British censors have a right to suppress. Wars are not won in this way, particularly when the mails are open and German letters and newspapers arrive with amazing regularity by way of Holland and Italy.

The favorable opinion of the United

States is being courted as never before in its history, but that public opinion is not to be won by falsifications on either side. And there have been misrepresentations on the German side, too. Indeed, if the Associated Press had carried out a recent plan to expose at length the London suppression and mishandling of the news, public sentiment as to England in this country would have been unfavorably affected to a considerable extent.

SEMI-OFFICIAL NEWS AGENCIES

The difficulties of the situation are, if anything, intensified by the semi-official character of at least two of the foreign agencies, the Agence Havas and the Wolff Agency. Reuter's, with headquarters in London, is responsible for the news of all of the great English over-sea dominions, except Canada, and for Great Britain as well. The Havas Agency, with headquarters in Paris, is responsible for the Latin countries, Spain, Portugal, France, Belgium, and Switzerland. The Wolff Bureau covers, in peace times, Germany, Austria, Turkey in Europe, Russia, the Balkan States, Scandinavia, and the German colonies. All of them work in cooperation with the officials from whom they draw their governmental and political news, even Reuter being subject to pressure from them. It is easy to understand the difficulties that this creates for the Associated Press, which stands aloof from all officialdom, and it makes it the more difficult to obtain news for the United States during this conflict which is unbiased and uncolored.

THE REPORTING OF MILITARY OPERATIONS

Plainly, there are two markedly different theories as to the reporting of military operations,—that which controlled in our Civil War and the modern policy of having, if possible, no correspondent within a hundred miles of the front. From 1861 to 1865 correspondents accompanied our armies and were free not only to describe battles and marches, but to criticize operations, generals, and admirals. That much harm resulted from this is indisputable. Military information of value was gathered by both sides through the exchange of newspapers at the picket-lines. But the chief injury done, some think, was through the criticism of plans of campaigns and of generals, and the rousing thereby of animosities within the armies and the starting up of political movements or of unwise public demands for action or non-action.

By contrast, the extreme military view to-day is that nothing shall appear save a brief daily official despatch. This is the case in Germany to-day. Even there, however, military experts may interpret these despatches to the public after approval of the censorship, and certain selected correspondents have been allowed to do descriptive writing in the rear of the armies. Criticism is, of course, forbidden, as is to be expected in an autocracy. At first the company of foreign correspondents, like that of foreign military observers, was everywhere declined with thanks. Now, however, they are being welcomed in some degree; indeed, the charges of misconduct by German soldiers and of unnecessary harshness in waging war have apparently made the Germans regret that they did not from the first ask a number of correspondents from neutral lands to accompany their armies. At least they have used to the fullest extent the favorable reports of Messrs. Irvin Cobb, John T. McCutcheon, and the other American reporters who fell into their hands in Belgium.

The writer's father, who reported the operations of the Federal armies and fleets from the first battle of Bull Run through the Wilderness campaign, and reached Austria in 1866, in time to describe the wreck of the Austrian armies and the aftermath of the Prussian success, was fond of saying that were he a general he would allow no correspondents at the front. The mischief his own fraternity did in 1861-65 seemed to him to outweigh the good. But in a republic, at least, there are other conditions to be considered than the purely military.

THE PUBLIC IS ENTITLED TO KNOW

The public cannot be left in all but total ignorance of a campaign; it must be informed in some detail as to what is going on if the war spirit is to be kept up, and, since it may be called upon to change its rulers in the middle of a war, as it had to choose between Lincoln and McClellan in 1864, it is entitled to the true facts upon which to form its judgment. Again, if the good opinion of the rest of the neutral world is desired, something more than official despatches is needed to win it; certainly all the German official bulletins thus far issued have not overcome the unfavorable judgments caused by non-official reports of the happenings in Belgium. On the other hand, even in war-time there is genuine danger in giving to military men complete control of a situation.

Besides the present illustration of this in England, we had a perfect example of it during our early warfare in the Philippines. There was an ideal situation for the working of a military censorship; there was but one cable and no correspondent could penetrate into the interior save with an army column.

The net result was not creditable to those in charge; the censorship, to say the least, was partisan. It speedily became political. Nothing unfavorable to the contentions of the McKinley government was allowed to come out. Constant charges that Mr. Bryan's speeches were encouraging the Filipinos were cabled, as well as other reflections upon Democrats and Democratic policies. Just as the censors to-day, whether they be in London, Paris, or Petrograd, conceal all bad news or gloss over defeats with euphemisms, only good news came out of Manila. So frankly political, so intolerable did this censorship become, that some influential journalists called upon the Secretary of War and were successful by threat of exposure in bringing about a change, not, however, until the American public had received an erroneous impression as to what was going on in the archipelago. It is needless to say that no news of the soldier wrong-doing in the Philippines, such as the use of the abominably inhuman water-cure, to which a stop was finally put by a vigorous order by President Roosevelt, could get by the censor. In this case the army needed to be saved by publicity from the effects of its own wrong-doing.

AN UNMUZZLED PRESS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY

This is nothing more than saying that frail human nature, even at its best, suffers when given arbitrary power over others, particularly if those whom it controls are objects of race prejudice, or of national hatreds. If the press is necessary in peace times in every country, republic or absolute monarchy, to prevent the abuse of power by those holding office, it is in the long run equally necessary that it should have some voice in war-time to present all the vital facts and to reflect to the commanding generals the temper of the people whose battles they are fighting. We come perilously close to despotism when a few men, whatever the emergency, concentrate all power in their own hands, and then by an impenetrable cloak of silence effectively veil their actions. What may happen in those circumstances is forever on record in the history of the

fall of the French Government in 1870 and of the Commune, which quite naturally followed the German victories and the exposure of the campaign of lies and misinformation with which the military men of Napoleon III deluded the people.

WHY FIELD CORRESPONDENTS ARE NEEDED

It would seem, therefore, as if a well-controlled system of field correspondents were necessary; indeed, the amount of news sent in by special representatives of American newspapers shows that, despite European military autocrats, the American reporter has been able to get to the front and to mail uncensored stories to this country to delight his managing editor. The writer is inclined to believe, as already indicated, that as the war progresses the restrictions will be loosened rather than tightened, as they have been in Germany (illustrated by the publication, on November 30, of an interview with the German Crown Prince); that the military leaders will feel the need of the moral support that comes from an enlightened and intelligent public opinion; that they will realize that the only basis for genuine mutual confidence between the military and the public is absolute truth-telling, whether it be favorable or unfavorable, by those who control the news; that public and army are interwoven in their best interests.

A powerful factor in bringing about this change should be a realization of how the several belligerent countries are being hurt by the false information, the cruel and misleading rumors that appear about them abroad, which can, in the long run, best be overcome by full and frank statements, both from official and unofficial sources. That any censorship will ever work to complete satisfaction may well be doubted, since it is at best founded on suppression, deceit, and concealment, however justifiable that may be in war-time.

From the viewpoint of humanity one may well ask, too, whether the censorship in war-times does not work against the coming of universal peace. How may we best rouse the moral sentiment of the world against war? Surely not by suppressing the horrors of the battlefield, by failing to portray to people everywhere the wickedness of taking human life on a grand scale.

American journalists, it would seem, cannot have any more patriotic duty in this hour than to portray truthfully the breakdown of militarism as taught and practised by the nations of Europe.

GOVERNOR BRUMBAUGH OF PENNSYLVANIA

BY ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER

THE election of Dr. Martin Grove Brumbaugh, the Republican candidate, to the governorship of Pennsylvania, came as the result of an ably conducted campaign in which he abundantly demonstrated his drawing power, as he went among the people. He called them from their old ways to new things, appealed to their imaginations and brought back to Republicanism that which it had seemed to lack, a prophetic note born of the spirit of a vexed and changing time.

Dr. Brumbaugh comes from that German stock which is called Pennsylvania-German, and which has been a factor in the population so long,—since the early part of the eighteenth century,—that it has already given the State a half dozen sturdy governors. Some of these Germans in Pennsylvania were Lutherans, but many were adherents of a variety of interesting sects—Pietists, Mennonites, Dunkers, Schwenkfelders, Moravians, etc. They settled the counties north and west of those occupied by William Penn's Quakers, and were drawn to the colony to enjoy the liberty of conscience, which he promised to all men. Dr. Brumbaugh's ancestors were Dunkers, a religious group which emigrated to Pennsylvania almost in a body. He himself is its historian. He is a licensed preacher of the church, as his father and his grandfather were before him, and from time to time he preaches a sermon as acceptably as he addresses a teachers' institute or a political meeting.

Dr. Brumbaugh was born fifty-two years ago in Huntingdon County, a land of wooded hills and mountains. It is drained by the "blue Juniata," a stream as pretty as its name, along whose winding course Charles Dickens, Harriet Martineau, and all the travelers from east to west and west to east were conveyed in canal boats before the construction of the Pennsylvania Railroad. Much they all found to say of the beauty of this valley. Dr. Brumbaugh came from the soil in this picturesque east-central part of the State. He calls the simple farming people

of this region his "home folks," and they in turn call him "M. G." or now since he has been honored with university degrees "Dr. M. G." and "the Doc." It has been an event of some moment for a dozen years in Huntingdon when he left the train, and it was noised about that he was come to town.

In Martin's early youth his father owned considerable tracts of woodland, but disaster came and the boy before he was sixteen, then as tall and sturdy as he is to-day, went up into the hills to bring out the timber to pay the paternal debts. While he worked among the trees and on the farm he studied, and after he studied he became a school teacher. Then his neighbors, while he was still only twenty-one years of age, made him Superintendent of Schools of Huntingdon County. He was easy and fluent of speech. He was an optimist in his outlook, and he became a figure in his county institute, a convention of his teachers held once a year.

ORGANIZER OF PORTO RICAN SCHOOLS

Soon he was asked to visit and speak before institutes in other counties, and was so successful that, upon the recommendation of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Pennsylvania, he was engaged in 1886 to organize the institute system in Louisiana. For several successive summers he traveled through the cottonfields and the canebrakes of that State in this service. Teaching and the education of teachers had become his vocation. He would improve himself,—make himself more fit for his duties. So he took up post-graduate studies at Harvard and the University of Pennsylvania. In 1894, before he had received his doctor's degree he was elected professor of pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania. Then after the Spanish war, which resulted in our acquisition of Porto Rico, President McKinley asked Provost Harrison, of the University, whom he could recommend to organize an American school system in that island. The Provost said Brumbaugh was

the man. He obtained a leave of absence from the University and for two years he was employed in important administrative work at San Juan. To this day his wholesome, hearty, friend-making qualities have not been forgotten in the island. One of the streets bears his name. You may ride down the Calle Brumbaugh when you visit San Juan.

SUPERINTENDENT OF
PHILADELPHIA'S
SCHOOL SYSTEM

Returning to Philadelphia, Dr. Brumbaugh resumed his chair of pedagogy, but in 1906 he was elected superintendent of the schools of Philadelphia. In this office he developed, extended, and improved the system of public education of the city in many directions. He permitted no unworthy consideration to influence his course. His open contest for the divorce of politics and education has been well fought, and it gave the people of the State as of the city a guaranty, when his name came before them for the governorship, that he would hew to the line of manliness and honesty in a greater field.

A POPULAR FIGURE IN HIS STATE

So they thought and so they expressed themselves through their suffrages in November. Many thousands who had made their adieux to the Republican party said that they still were not ready to return to it under Mr. Penrose's leadership, but they would accept the leadership of a man like Dr. Brumbaugh. Their children had studied his text-books in the schools; they had heard him in the teachers' institutes in all of the sixty-one counties of the State,—in many of them dozens of times,—they were given good accounts of his war for independence in Philadelphia. Also they had read his platform,—its phrases were happy, breathed a moral purpose, and rang through the State. They looked at his rugged form and his honest face as he stood up before them in the campaign, pledging them good government. They liked his readiness on the stump; his hopeful words about the destiny



PENNSYLVANIA'S NEW GOVERNOR—A RECENT PORTRAIT

of a party, which some of them had forsaken, and to which they would be pleased,—if a suitable way opened,—to return; his declaration that Pennsylvania could conduct its own internal affairs without the aid of foreign sages, and his attacks upon all men who in this way and that for so long had assailed the good name of the State.

Most of all were the masses of men,—those who make up the bone and sinew of the electorate,—pleased to think and feel that he was somehow one of them. On his stumping tours he could go into a sawmill and talk about the machinery and the wood, a craft he had learned as a boy; as cordially take the callous hands of men in blouses and overalls in foundries, and be the good brother of farmers, drovers and miners as he could greet a school superintendent or a college president. His cheery salutations and pleasant retorts, the allusion and anecdote,—much of it homely,—with which his mind is full, gave him some of the personal power which such figures as Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay and Abraham Lincoln earlier brought into our public life. This is the leader who has fused the broken parts of the Republican party in Pennsylvania, and who now for four years, unless by chance, as his friends already hope, he should be called to perform a similar service in a larger field, will be the Governor of the State.

A GALAXY OF NEW GOVERNORS

IN most of our forty-eight States, the beginning of a new year brings special reason for interest in the public affairs of the commonwealth. New Governors, for the most part, begin their terms in January, and legislatures as a rule come into session in the opening days of the year. Twenty-nine of our States elected Governors on November 3, while Maine and Arkansas elected Governors in September. All of these thirty-one (with the single exception of the Governor of Georgia), enter upon the duties of the governorship in the present month of January. Twenty-two of these Governors-elect are new men, while nine are the present executives, who are honored by reelection for another term.

It may well be supposed that the citizens in each one of the twenty-nine States that elected Governors on November 3 knew something of their own candidates and their own State problems. But it is unquestionably true that most of them knew very little indeed about the candidates and problems of other States. Furthermore, it ought to be said with emphasis that they did not have a wholly favorable opportunity for dealing with their own State candidates and State issues, for a reason that deserves clear statement and wide discussion. Let us face that reason and judge of its weight.

On that same day, November 3, the voting population of the United States was engaged in the general election of a new Congress. The country is divided into 435 Congressional districts, in each one of which (excepting in the four districts of Maine, where the elections were held in September), a Representative was being chosen. The leaders of the great parties were demanding that the voters fix their minds upon national and international questions and policies. President Wilson and the cabinet were asking the country to roll up a Democratic victory in the election of Congressmen, as a means of expressing a vote of confidence in the national administration, at a time when a great program of domestic legislation and action was at stake, and when world problems were of exceptional gravity.

Besides electing Congressmen, thirty-one

of the forty-eight States were on that day electing United States Senators by the process, for the first time in our history, of direct universal suffrage. National affairs ought periodically to have their uninterrupted day in the great court of the people. But the time has come when State affairs also ought to have their separate day with the voters, so that they may not be subordinated to national policies or political exigencies.

National affairs involve politics in the large sense of the word. State affairs have very little to do with the tariff, or the problems that have divided the people into great parties. The politicians naturally prefer to have national and State elections come on the same day. It facilitates the political game; and it helps to keep the profitable and interesting business of State government in the hands of political machines and professional politicians.

One of the principal excuses for electing State legislatures and Governors on party lines has been found heretofore in the fact that legislatures were intrusted with the selection of United States Senators, and these almost invariably have been chosen on distinctively partisan lines. But now that the Senators are elected by the people, the legislatures have nothing to do but give their whole attention to State affairs.

Since Congresses and Presidents are elected in the even years, Governors and legislatures ought now always to be elected in the odd years. The functions of our States are steadily increasing, and the amounts of money that they collect and expend are growing much more rapidly than the population. There is a tendency to demand an increased concentration of authority and power in the hands of the Governor.

Thus the Governor has great opportunities to promote his State's advancement; and there is a sentiment now evident throughout the country in favor of a higher average of intelligent and efficient work in the domain of State government. There is no danger of a lack of the spirit and feeling of national unity. The things that belong to the country as a whole will be managed at Washington with due concentration of interest

and power. But we have at the same time a marvelous opportunity to develop each State in its own individual character, through its State government. Each State may learn much from its own experience, and may also profit by the results worked out in the other forty-seven States regarded as so many laboratories of political and administrative experimentation.

In all this work it is plain that our Governors have an opportunity to achieve fine records by showing fidelity to their trusts. They may make notably good appointments, and devote themselves to the development of constructive State policies. They may bring firm, close, efficient administration into the management of State departments. This will be particularly true when we increase the appointive power of Governors and shorten the length of State tickets.

In spite of parties and politics, we do manage to choose a great many excellent men as Governors of our States. This has always been true throughout our history. Many men who have served well in the House of Representatives or in the Senate have been made Governors of their States. Many who have served well as Governors have been sent to the United States Senate. Statesmanship and executive ability in the work of a Governor, together with the demonstrated ability to carry a critical State at the polls, have served to bring a great number of Governors into prominence as active candidates for the Presidency.

Thus, President Wilson was Governor of New Jersey. President Taft had been Governor of the Philippines. President Roosevelt had been Governor of New York. President McKinley had been Governor of Ohio. President Cleveland had been Governor of New York. President Harrison had been Governor of Indiana. President Hayes had been Governor of Ohio. When our States choose their Governors with more exclusive reference to State problems, and with less thought for their political affiliations, able and successful Governors will not be less likely to be chosen by popular vote as members of the United States Senate, nor more likely to be overlooked by the

country in its search for Presidential timber. Something as regards the personality and the public experience of the new men who come into the Governors' chairs seems to us well worthy of presentation in this number of the REVIEW. An especially notable new Governor, Mr. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, has been selected for particular notice, as embodied in the article immediately preceding these notes.

As a convenient memorandum, our readers

may like to be reminded that the nine Governors who have been reelected and will be inaugurated for new terms are: David I. Walsh (Democrat), of Massachusetts; Woodbridge N. Ferris (Democrat), of Michigan; George W. Clarke (Republican), of Iowa; John H. Morehead (Democrat), of Nebraska; Louis B. Hanna (Republican), of North Dakota; Frank M. Byrne (Republican), of South Dakota; Hiram W. Johnson (Progressive), of California; George W. P. Hunt (Democrat), of Arizona; and George W. Hays (Democrat), of Arkansas. Our notes relate chiefly to the new men.

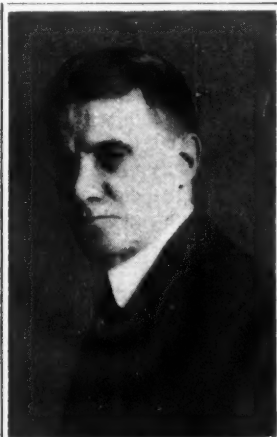


Photo by Am. Press Ass'n

GOV. CHARLES S. WHITMAN
(New York)

GOVERNOR WHITMAN, OF NEW YORK

No new Governor has gained wider fame than Charles S. Whitman, who becomes the chief executive of the State of New York. We have already, in this REVIEW, at different times, given information about Mr. Whitman; and in our number for June we published an extended article from his pen on the organization and work of his office,—the most important prosecuting agency in the world. His services in the elimination of crime and vice in the great metropolis of America have indeed been notable. Not only has he broken up the disgraceful alliance that connected a part of the police force with the great underworld of law-breaking and evil-doing, but it also fell to him, in his capacity as a prosecuting officer, to make important inquiries into the charges of corruption and graft in connection with some of the State departments, particularly as regards the expenditure of vast sums of State money for the construction of highways.

The knowledge that Mr. Whitman thus

gained of State conditions will be of advantage in putting thorough efficiency into the public works of New York. He has shown his intentions already by selecting as head of the Public Works Department the retiring Chief of Staff of the United States Army. He is a ready and eloquent public speaker, a trained administrator, and a man of intense industry and vitality.

Mr. Whitman was born in Connecticut forty-six years ago,—the son of a Presbyterian minister. He was graduated from Amherst College, and came to New York, where he entered the law school of New York University. He was admitted to the bar in 1894, and eight years later was appointed assistant corporation counsel of New York City. In 1904 Mayor Low appointed Mr. Whitman a City Magistrate. He was elected President of the Board of Magistrates, and during his administration brought about many reforms in the procedure in the Magistrates' Courts. He was later appointed by Governor Hughes to the Court of General Sessions, in 1907. Upon the expiration of his term as judge, Mr. Whitman resumed the private practise of law, which he continued until he was elected District Attorney of the County of New York in the fall of 1909. He was reelected for a term of four years in November, 1913, on the tickets of all the prominent parties, so that his election was practically unanimous,—an occurrence unusual in the history of American politics.

FIVE NEW ENGLAND GOVERNORS

State tickets were elected, last fall, in every one of the New England commonwealths; and the early days of the present month will witness the induction into office of five new executives. The Governor of Massachusetts was continued in office by the voters. In New Hampshire and Connecticut the administrations pass from Democratic to Republican hands, while Maine inaugurates a Democrat,—for the second time in thirty-five years.

The election in Maine had been held in September. The new executive is the Hon. Oakley C. Curtis, who at the time of his election was serving as Mayor of Portland, the largest city in the State. The lower branch of the new legislature is Democratic, but the upper branch remains Republican. Throughout his campaign, Governor Curtis had maintained that the need of money for schools in Maine is sufficient to justify licensing the traffic in liquors in the pioneer Pro-

hibition State. But his party will not be in full control of the legislature, and it is doubtful if an attempt will be made to have the Prohibition amendment resubmitted to the people. Four years ago a proposal to discard prohibition failed by 750 votes.

New Hampshire inaugurates as Governor a successful young manufacturer, Mr. Rolland H. Spaulding, of Rochester. Everyone speaks well of Mr. Spaulding, as a man of ability and character. He was elected as a Republican, with progressive tendencies, and he will be supported by a Republican legislature.

Vermont inaugurates Mr. Charles W. Gates, who refused to become a candidate, but finally accepted the Republican nomination that was forced upon him, and which in his State is practically equivalent to an election. Mr. Gates had been serving with zeal and distinction as State Highway Commissioner, and he preferred to go on with the work of developing highways. As Governor he will be able, even more effectively, to encourage that movement.

Governor Walsh, of Massachusetts, has been retained in office by the voters, and he intends to proceed with the work of reconstructing the State departments. His triumph at the polls was particularly notable because he won over a distinguished Republican, former Congressman Samuel W. McCall. It is only fair to add, however, that Democratic success in Massachusetts is due in part to the fact that large numbers of former Republican voters continue to be attracted to the Progressive party.

A new Governor is inaugurated in Rhode Island, mainly because the Hon. Aram J. Pothier had persistently declined to be a candidate for a sixth term. His successor, also a Republican, is Mr. R. Livingston Beeckman, whose achievements as a popular Newport society leader had been supplemented by useful service, last year, in the State Senate.

Connecticut changes Governors, and changes party control, but nevertheless retains in the executive chair a former member of the State bench. The Hon. Marcus H. Holcomb, who succeeds Judge Baldwin as Governor, has just retired as Judge of the Superior Court. He has also been Attorney-General of the State. It is said that Judge Holcomb never acquiesced in his nomination by the Republicans, and would not participate actively in the campaign. There is no doubt, however, of his willingness,—now that the voters of the State have confirmed

the choice of his party,—to give to the tasks of a Governor the best that is in him.

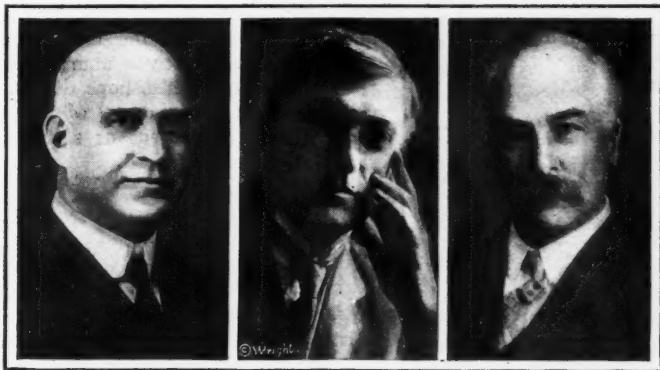
IN THE MIDDLE WEST

In Ohio, a Republican, the Hon. Frank B. Willis, who is a member of the present national Congress, succeeds the popular Democratic Governor, James M. Cox. Mr. Willis was born in Ohio forty-two years ago; and was graduated from Ohio Northern University, where he later taught history, economics and law. He was a member of the Ohio legislature for two terms prior to his election to the Sixty-second Congress in 1910. The new Governor's position on various State issues is yet to be defined.

Governor Philipp's victory in Wisconsin was really won in the Republican primaries last September. After those had been held, there was little doubt of the result in November. There was an insistent demand for lower taxes and reduced State expenses; Emanuel Philipp, better than any other candidate, voiced that demand. He is a native of Wisconsin, fifty-three years

of age, and has been successively, a farmer, a school teacher, a telegraph operator, a railroad station agent, a train dispatcher, a lumber merchant, and the proprietor of the Union Refrigerator Company. Incidentally, he was for a time Police Commissioner for the city of Milwaukee. Mr. Philipp was elected Governor to bring about a definite result,—retrenchment in the State appropriations, which by the last legislature were so enormously swollen as to require a tax levy that roused the indignation of the whole State.

Wisconsin's neighbor, Minnesota, is likewise concerned about economy and efficiency in the State administration and the new Governor, Winfield S. Hammond, who is a Democratic Representative in Congress, is pledged to the reorganization of the executive departments on the lines proposed by the commission that has been at work on the problem for many months. Mr. Hammond was born in Massachusetts fifty-one years ago, was graduated from Dartmouth College, and became a teacher and lawyer in Minnesota. He has been a member of Congress since 1907. The Republican State of Minnesota has a way of choosing Democratic Governors with re-



GOV. OAKLEY C. CURTIS
(Maine)

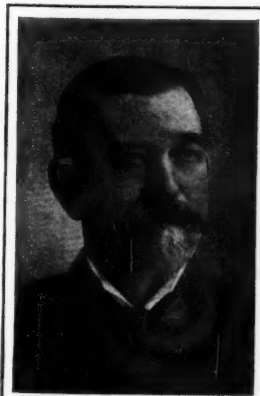
GOV. R. H. SPAULDING
(New Hampshire)

GOV. CHARLES W. GATES
(Vermont)

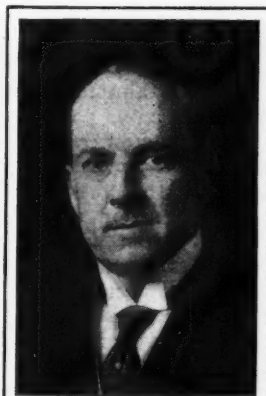


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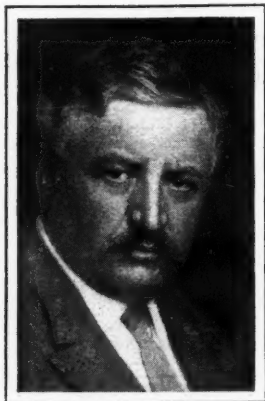
GOV. FRANK B. WILLIS
(Ohio)



GOV. MARCUS H. HOLCOMB
(Connecticut)



GOV. R. LIVINGSTON BEECKMAN
(Rhode Island)



GOV. EMANUEL PHILIPP
(Wisconsin)

of the *Topeka Daily Capital*, to the Governorship. Forty-nine years of age, a native of Kansas, and a Republican from his youth up, the new Governor is one of the best-known men in the public life of the State. Governor Capper is owner of the *Nebraska Farm Journal* and the *Missouri Ruralist*, and has served as president of the Board of Regents of the Kansas Agricultural College. He belongs distinctly to the progressive wing of the Republican party in Kansas, but never followed White, Allen, and Murdock into the Progressive party movement.

Interest in the Colorado Governorship naturally centers in the incoming administration's policy with reference to the mining troubles. The new Republican Governor, George A. Carlson, has announced his program; he favors the creation of an Industrial Relations Board, in which shall be centered the powers now exercised by the State Labor Commissioner, the Public Utility Commissioner, the State Mine Commissioner and all other boards and bureaus whose duties relate to labor and labor questions,—all the members of this board to be appointed by the Governor. The plan has at least the merit of concentration. In the industrial war

markable frequency.

In Kansas the transition from newspaper management to active political leadership is easy. Cases in point are Victor Murdock, William Allen White, and Henry J. Allen, but the freshest instance of all is the election of Arthur Capper, proprietor

of the past two years, division of power was the chief cause of the State's impotence in maintaining law and order. There is also hope that such a board, possessing the confidence of the public, would be able to prevent or settle strikes in many instances.

THE SOUTHERN STATES

Turning to the South, we are reminded that, while six States in this section have chosen Governors this fall, the chief interest in the elections came at the primary contests held during the spring and summer months. The victor at the Democratic primaries in these States is perforce also the

victor at the polls in November, owing to the negligible Republican vote in these communities.

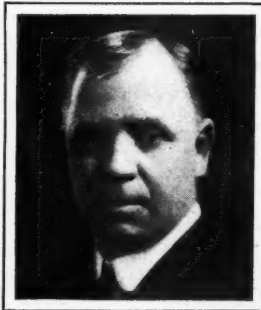
The South continues to show preference for the surviving leaders of '61. So we find the old commonwealth of Georgia selecting as its chief



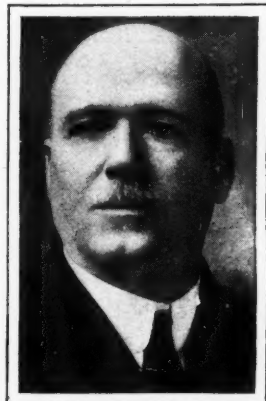
GOV. ARTHUR CAPPER
(Kansas)

executive a fine example of the old guard of the Confederacy, the Hon. Nathaniel E. Harris, of Macon. Judge Harris's marked personality, as well as his important work in the educational field and on the bench, are enough to account for his success with the voters. Georgians as a whole seem to be satisfied with their choice of an executive for the next two years.

In the neighboring State of Alabama the chief political interest centered in the fight for United States Senator as between Oscar Underwood and Richmond P. Hobson, with prohibition brought in as an issue. The overshadowing nature of this



GOV. GEORGE A. CARLSON
(Colorado)



GOV. WINFIELD S. HAMMOND
(Minnesota)

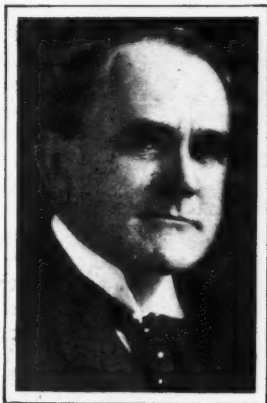


GOV. CHARLES HENDERSON
(Alabama)

Charles Henderson, business man, merchant, and banker, has for years served as member and head of Alabama's Railroad Commission.

Texans wrestled with two principal issues in their campaign. One was prohibition, which was defeated; the other was the land question, which thus made its first appearance in recent American State elections. The success of James E. Ferguson at the gubernatorial primaries last July attracted wide attention. He is regarded as a successful banker and farmer. Mr. Ferguson's principal platform plank demanded the legal limitation of rent charges, his opponent proposing a plan of State loans to help tenant farmers

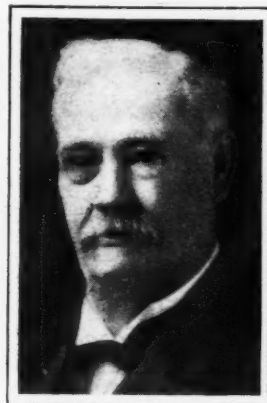
struggle did not, Benjamin W. Hooper, turned this year to a Democrat, Thomas C. Rye, of Paris.



GOV. R. I. MANNING
(South Carolina)

Although still in his forties, the new Governor of Oklahoma, Robert L. Williams, has already "done the State some service," having been a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1906-7 and having since then served for two terms on the Supreme bench as Chief Justice.

Governor Blease's "Sedan," as one newspaper called it (the Governor having been defeated for the United States Senatorship from South Carolina), carried with it the downfall of



GOV. NAT E. HARRIS
(Georgia)

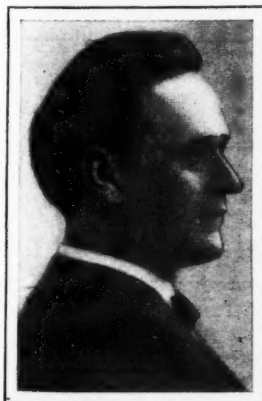
Here again the liquor question was prominent, the platforms of both candidates declaring for the maintenance of the present temperance laws and for additional legislation along this line.



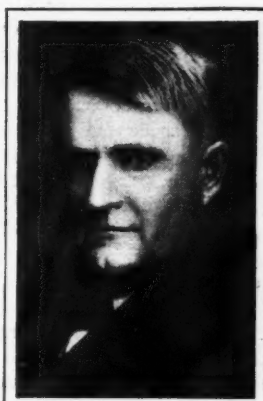
GOV. JAMES E. FERGUSON
(Texas)

purchase their land. his candidate for Governor.

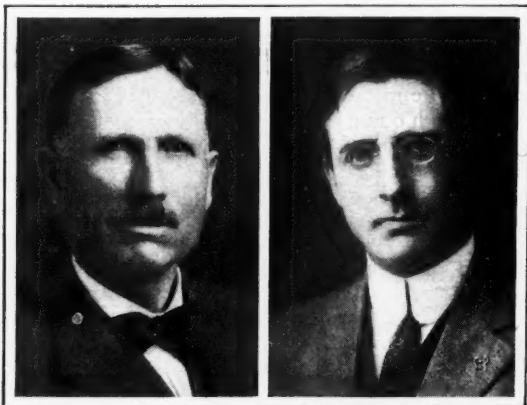
Tennessee, The successful after two terms man was Richard I. Manning, of Sumner, the person of Mr. Man-



GOV. THOS. C. RYE
(Tennessee)



GOV. R. L. WILLIAMS
(Oklahoma)



GOV. JOHN B. KENDRICK
(Wyoming)

GOV. EMMET D. BOYLE
(Nevada)

ning has the distinction of being the third in his family to head the State government of South Carolina, both his grandfather and his uncle having served in that capacity. The chief issue in this State appears to have been "Bleaseism,"—as it has been called,—a distinguishing feature of which has been a liberal use of the pardoning power of the executive.

PACIFIC COAST STATES

Dr. James Withycombe, Republican, was chosen Governor of Oregon at the last election by what was said to be the largest plurality (30,000) ever given for the office in the history of the State. Dr. Withycombe has been director of the Oregon Agricultural College Experiment Station. He is well known to the farmers. Oregon, like Colorado, was voted "dry" at the November election. Next to the unprecedented vote which re-elected Governor Johnson of California, the Oregon election was the most significant political event of the past year on the Pacific Coast.

If one may judge from past achievements, the people of Nevada must be expecting many fine things from their new Governor, Mr. Emmet D. Boyle. He is a graduate of the engineering department of the State University, and reaches the executive chair at the age of

thirty-six, after conscientious and efficient service as State Engineer and as a member of the Tax Commission. In these offices he has become familiar with the natural resources of the State and with their possibilities if conserved and developed. Mr. Boyle is a Democrat, and succeeds a Republican.

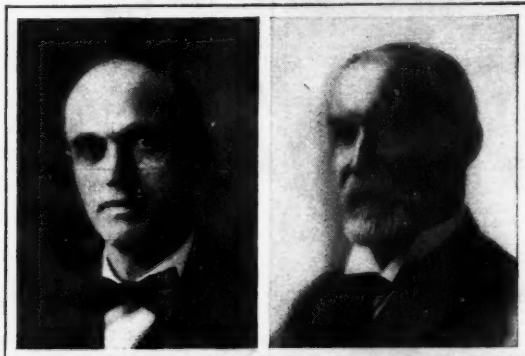
The chief problems confronting Mr. Moses Alexander, the new Democratic Governor of Idaho, are the reduction of taxes and the reorganization of the State Treasurer's office. It is stated that the election turned upon the fact that the Republican State Treasurer, in the closing days of the campaign, "plead guilty to the embezzlement of State funds and was sent to the penitentiary."

Mr. Alexander is a prominent clothing merchant of Boise. His associates in office are Republicans, and the Legislature is controlled by that party.

The new Governor of Wyoming is Mr. John B. Kendrick, a Democrat. He is a successful stockman, with large holdings of land in the northern part of the State. Entering politics six years ago, he was elected to the State Senate, and in 1913 was an unsuccessful candidate for the United States Senate. In the recent campaign he was endorsed by the Progressives as "the individual through whom the greatest measure of fulfillment of Progressive principles in Wyoming can be secured."



GOV. HIRAM W. JOHNSON
(California)



GOV. MOSES ALEXANDER
(Idaho)

GOV. JAMES WITHYCOMBE
(Oregon)

NATIONAL DEFENSE

AS DISCUSSED BY THE PRESIDENT IN HIS MESSAGE, AND BY WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS IN THEIR REPORTS

I. PRESIDENT WILSON'S VIEWS

IT is natural that to many thoughtful persons in this country there should occur the possibility, however remote, that at some time the United States may be at war with a first-class power. It is also natural that some should seek to know whether or not we are in a condition of reasonable preparedness.

As the country had expected and desired, the President discussed at length the subject of national defense in the address which he delivered to the members of Congress on December 7.

He began by asking and answering "some very searching questions":

What is meant by being prepared? Is it meant that we are not ready upon brief notice to put a nation in the field, a nation of men trained to arms? Of course we are not ready to do that; and we shall never be in time of peace so long as we retain our present political principles and institutions. And what is it that it is suggested we should be prepared to do? To defend ourselves against attack? We have always found means to do that, and shall find them whenever it is necessary without calling our people away from their necessary tasks to render compulsory military service in times of peace.

After pointing out that we are at peace with all the world, that we are not a jealous people, and that we offer true friendship to all nations, President Wilson alludes to things which might legitimately be done for improvement in matters of defense without exposing us to the dangers of militarism:

We must depend in every time of national peril, in the future as in the past, not upon a standing army, nor yet upon a reserve army, but upon a citizenry trained and accustomed to arms. It will be right enough, right American policy, based upon our accustomed principles and practices, to provide a system by which every citizen who will volunteer for the training may be made familiar with the use of modern arms, the rudiments of drill and maneuver, and the maintenance and sanitation of camps. We should encourage such training and make it a means of discipline which our young men will learn to value. It is right that we should provide it not only, but that we should make it as attractive as possible, and so induce our young men to undergo it at such times as they can command a little freedom and can seek the physical development they need, for mere health's

sake, if for nothing more. Every means by which such things can be stimulated is legitimate, and such a method smacks of true American ideas. It is right, too, that the National Guard of the States should be developed and strengthened by every means which is not inconsistent with our obligations to our own people or with the established policy of our Government.

More than this carries with it a reversal of the whole history and character of our polity. More than this, proposed at this time, permit me to say, would mean merely that we had lost our self-possession, that we had been thrown off our balance by a war with which we have nothing to do, whose causes cannot touch us, whose very existence affords us opportunities of friendship and disinterested service which should make us ashamed of any thought of hostility or fearful preparation for trouble.

The President regards a powerful navy as "our proper and natural means of defense," and believes that "we shall be strong upon the seas, in the future as in the past." He decries the fact, however, that even experts differ as to what kind of ships to construct.

II. THE ARMY

In his annual report to the President, made public on December 10, Secretary of War Garrison treats of our military preparedness to the extent of five-sixths of his remarks. His contribution to the discussion stands out among others as furnishing a moderate, constructive plan for remedying a situation which he believes to be undesirable.

Mr. Garrison states, even more clearly than others had done, the present effective strength of our regular army. Of a total of 92,000 officers and men, 8000 are in the Quartermaster and Hospital Corps, 19,000 garrison the coast defenses, 19,000 belong to the non-combatant administrative and educational branches, 9500 are in the Philippines, 8000 in Hawaii, 2000 at Panama, 850 in China, 850 in Alaska, and 700 in Porto Rico.

Thus Secretary Garrison finds that we have in the whole United States a real fighting strength, in movable forces, of less than 31,000 officers and men.

SECRETARY GARRISON'S RECOMMENDATIONS

After recommending the enlistment of 25,000 additional men in the regular army,

the Secretary of War discusses "the next necessity, which is absolutely imperative, and that is, the preparation of a reserve."

Reserves are men who have been retired from the army after a period of enlistment; and Secretary Garrison recognizes the fact that a reserve force can only be created if the conditions of enlistment are made attractive. He would establish a form of enlistment for one year (instead of four years, as at present), discharging into the reserve those who so desire and who have become proficient.

Opposition to such a plan is based chiefly upon the idea that one year or eighteen months is not a sufficient time in which to train a soldier. Secretary Garrison defends his suggestion, as follows:

It is a curious exhibition of mental operations to realize that those who make this argument and who have to acknowledge that without reserves we must depend upon volunteers, are constantly asserting that we can safely rely upon volunteers because they can be thoroughly trained in six months. It is furthermore true that by intensive military training, any young man of good health and average mentality can be made a serviceable soldier in twelve months, and, in fact, has been so made. . . . Even if there were doubt about it, it would not cause a different conclusion to be reached by a reasonable man, because we certainly would be better off with a reserve of men who had had one year's training than we are without any reserve at all and having to depend, as we do, upon men who have never had any training whatever.

GENERAL WOTHERSPOON'S PLAN

The technical head of our army is the Chief of Staff, who is charged among other things with the duty of reporting to the Secretary of War upon the condition of the forces under him, and of making recommendations relative thereto.

The report and recommendations of Major-General Wotherspoon, who became Chief of Staff on April 22, were prepared and made public at the time of his retirement on November 15. His recommendations go even farther than those of Mr. Garrison. He believes that:

Careful consideration of our needs would indicate the advisability and necessity for having at all times available at home and, in addition to the necessities in our foreign possessions, in the first line of our military establishment a mobile force of at least 500,000 thoroughly trained and thoroughly equipped fighting men. . . . It is also agreed that we should have, as a second line, a thoroughly equipped and trained force of organized militia of not less than 300,000 men.

To have 500,000 trained men available at all times, General Wotherspoon would establish a three-year enlistment, increase the

standing army to 205,000, and create a reserve organization. One-third of the regular army would be discharged each year into the reserve, and would be held subject to call for a period of five years.

THE MILITIA

General Wotherspoon does not lack appreciation of the value of the militia. But the reader of his report is impressed with the limitations of that branch of our military organization. Out of a total reported strength of 120,000, more than 70,000 can not qualify even as second-class riflemen, 38,000 failed to attend the required twenty-four drills of one hour each during the year, and 32,000 did not attend the annual camps of instruction. Furthermore, General Wotherspoon believes that in a whole year "not a single unit at its maximum strength marched a distance of ten miles fully equipped and armed."

A SHORTAGE OF OFFICERS

The problem of finding suitable men, and training them so that they might become officers in an enlarged or reserve or volunteer army, has occupied the attention of many authorities.

The views of Major-Gen. Leonard Wood, who preceded General Wotherspoon as Chief of Staff, are appropriate upon the subject of training officers, for he himself is not a West Point graduate, having come into the army as a surgeon. In a recent interview he spoke as follows:

As you know, for the past two summers we have conducted students' military instruction camps. To enter one of these camps applicants must be citizens of the United States between 18 and 30 years of age, of good moral character, physically qualified, and students in, or recent graduates of, universities, colleges, and the senior class at high schools. The results have been extremely encouraging. During the past summer we had four camps. . . .

Take the Burlington camp as an example. We had there 350 students, and at the end of their five weeks of training 129 were recommended to fill lieutenantcies and captaincies of volunteers.

General Wood also made suggestions which, he believes, would result in attracting more students to these instruction camps. He has also outlined a plan whereby graduates of private military schools of high grade might be given commissions as second lieutenants in the regular army, for one year, afterward becoming reserve officers.

LACK OF BIG GUNS AND AMMUNITION

Besides a shortage of men and officers, there is alleged a shortage of field guns and

ammunition with which to equip an enlarged army. A paragraph on this subject in General Wood's last report as Chief of Staff is particularly interesting, because it was written and published several months before the beginning of the European conflict.

In addition to the shortage of field artillery organizations for the regular army, attention is again invited to the very alarming shortage in field artillery, guns and ammunition for the militia and volunteers, and to the fact that this class of material cannot be made quickly, but must be prepared in time of peace. No amount of money or effort will serve to overcome this shortage without the expenditure of such time as might be fatal to our chances in case of war.

That conditions in this respect have improved during the past year is indicated by the report of the Chief of Ordnance, just issued, in which reference is made to enlarged output from the Government's powder mills and gun shops, and to a "gratifying" increase in the appropriation for field artillery. At this increased rate, the project for field artillery "will be complete about 1920."

The report of the Chief of Ordnance indicates that there is on hand, or covered by funds already appropriated, a sufficient quantity of rifles and ammunition for an enlarged regular army, for the organized militia, and for volunteers.

III. THE NAVY

President Wilson's statement, in his message to Congress, that a powerful navy is our proper and natural means of defense, caused many to await with aroused curiosity the annual report of the Secretary of the Navy, made public on December 12.

SECRETARY DANIELS' REPORT

Mr. Daniels points to the sudden despatch of our fleet to Mexican waters, last April, as furnishing ample proof of the preparedness of our navy. We quote his tribute:

Within twenty-four hours after the directions to sail were flashed from the wireless at Arlington to the commander-in-chief the gray fighters were ready, and the giant ships slipped swiftly seaward and hurried to the waters of the Gulf. . . . It showed the country that the navy is always ready,—it lives in a state of preparedness,—and that when the emergency arises every man in the navy and the marine corps shows such enthusiasm and resourcefulness as to quicken the pride of their countrymen in them.

"Ship for ship and man for man," our navy is equal if not superior to any in the world, in the opinion of Secretary Daniels.

He recommends the construction of two new battleships,—after calling attention to the fact that three were authorized last year, and mentioning the "necessity for economy, which the rigors of foreign war have imposed."

ADMIRAL DEWEY'S ADVICE

Secretary Daniels invited attention to the report of the General Board of the Navy Department, as entitled to great weight, and he made it a part of his own report. Among other things, the Board's duty is to advise the Secretary of the Navy respecting the proper number and types of ships; and the report referred to embodies that advice. It bears the signature of Admiral Dewey.

The General Board urges the construction of four battleships, and distinctly states that we are deficient ten battleships as respects the recommendations of the Board made in 1903, "after mature consideration of our national policies and interests, and of those of the other leading naval nations of the world."

SHIPS USELESS WITHOUT TRAINED MEN

That there exists a shortage of men to man properly the warships that we have, as well as a lack of reserve to bring the crews up to full strength in the event of war, is the opinion of the General Board, which we quote:

The General Board cannot too strongly urge upon the department the necessity of using its best endeavors to carry out the repeated recommendations of the General Board, made from year to year, to provide the fleet with a personnel, active list and trained reserve, equal to the manning of the fleet for war.

In the opinion of the General Board this is a matter of even more serious import than that of construction, for it cannot be too often repeated that ships without a *trained* personnel to man and fight them are useless for the purposes of war. The training needed for the purpose is long and arduous, and cannot be done after the outbreak of war.

The Chief of the Bureau of Navigation, Rear-Admiral Victor Blue, has estimated that there is an "actual shortage of men to man all vessels serviceable for war purposes of 4565,"—this in view of the fact that for the first time in many years the navy enlistment is up to the limit prescribed by Congress, and the service has a waiting list.

Regarding officers, Admiral Blue points out that more than half the entire number are of or below the second lowest rank,— "an abnormal condition, which should be remedied." The matter of promotion, too, "is a serious question, and becomes worse each year."

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

HOW RUSSIA HAS GONE DRY

TO those who know Russia as she was before the war it is difficult to conceive of her without vodka. One might as well try to imagine Germany without sauerkraut or Italy without macaroni. The picture of a city or village minus reeling, staggering figures of both sexes and all those comic and tragic scenes which are the usual accompaniments of drunkenness fails to call up to the mind what is most characteristically Russian. In Russian life drunkenness was not merely an incident, not even merely a great evil. It was of the very essence of that life, bulking large in almost every phase of it. The prominent position occupied by drunkenness in Russian realistic literature, as in the novels of Dostoyevsky and Gorky, for example, is not purely an accident. To portray the conditions of Russian life faithfully was impossible without taking account of alcoholism, which held more than half the population of the Empire in its deathly grip.

And all this is ended now, swept away as if by the hand of a magician. One day, upon the declaration of the war, the Russian Government said, "Let there be no vodka!" And there was no vodka. One hundred and seventy million people who consumed more spirituous liquor proportionately than any other nation suddenly stopped drinking and became total abstainers. The drink-shops throughout the vast empire were closed, all distilleries shut down. Nowhere else in the world could such a result have been attained; nowhere else could the liquor traffic have been stopped so effectively and in so brief a time. Twenty-four hours after the order went forth from the government not a drop of strong drink was to be had in all the length and breadth of the Czar's domain.

It seems like a miracle to us in America, who know how little prohibition actually prohibits, but the explanation is quite simple. The Russian Government has a monopoly of the entire drink traffic. It not only owned all the retail vodka shops, but was largely engaged in its production. The private dis-

tilleries were wholly dependent upon the government for their market. They had no other customer. Thus, when the Czar determined to keep his subjects sober, they had no choice but to obey. The government's intention evidently was to keep the drink-shops closed only for a short time, in order to facilitate the concentration and mobilization of troops. But once the people had a taste of real prohibition, the Czar's administration found that it was not easy to return to its old ways and resume its profitable business. The people rose up as one man, demanding the continuance of prohibition. Peasants who had been hard drinkers before joined in a general enthusiasm that greeted this movement. The press did its best to uphold the people, and the government, which needed the nation's sympathy as never before, was forced to capitulate.

The result has been a regenerated and revolutionized Russia. Crime has been diminished 40 per cent., or even more. Wife-beating has ceased almost entirely. Children who had never seen their fathers sober and always feared them now beheld them with astonishment and asked their mothers, "Will papa always be so?" In conversation the wonderful change that has come over Russia through her sobriety takes precedence even over the war, especially among women.

Our country is passing through an epoch fraught with the greatest significance [writes K. Vorobyov in the Petrograd *Riech*]. The spiritual elevation the people have experienced since the declaration of the war, added to the sobriety that began at the same time, has wrought a profound change in the life of the country right before our eyes. The stoppage of drink has revolutionized the Russians psychologically, economically, and socially. The results of the change are already apparent throughout the empire, especially in the villages. The Russian village in this brief period has been so transformed that it is irre recognizable.

A priest in the government of Simbirsk writes in answer to a series of questions by the Bureau of Statistics: "It is difficult to express in words the transformation that has taken place in our villages on account of the prohibition of liquor. All our peasants have begun to dress decently;

they have become industrious, as it were,—more rational and sensible. I have been told personally by peasants who used to be addicted to drink that they welcomed the new way of life, and it was evident that they meant what they said. I know one peasant, for instance, who always went about drunk. He used to take the last sack of flour he had to the liquor shop, and the eggs as soon as the hens laid them. It is a pleasure to see this fellow now putting up a new gate to his yard, and sitting in front of his house in the evening quietly conversing with his wife about the household and the work that must be done on the farm. In all the years I can remember, I never saw the wife's face as it is now, without any blue marks. I could mention numerous other cases in which a like change has been effected. They all go soberly about their work, praying and hoping the sale of vodka and wine will never again be permitted, and the happy life begun for the people will never again be sullied by the curse of drink."

"The prohibition of the sale of vodka," writes another correspondent, "has had the most beneficial effect upon the peasants and the workmen. All the money they earn they use to improve their farms. No ugly, indecent songs are heard in the village any more; no drunken squabbles in the peasants' houses; no coarse roistering. The vil-

lage is quiet on Sundays and holidays. There is not a single drunken person to be seen, and there are no fights. The women and children bless the authorities for stopping the sale of liquor."

Financially, the saving is so great that hope is expressed in Russia that it will compensate to a large extent for the cost of the war. At peasants' weddings, for example, no less than \$70 used to be spent for wine and vodka. No wonder all Russians hailed the measure with such unprecedented enthusiasm, and no wonder some regard it almost as the advent of the millennium.

"We don't need politicians any more to keep the peace," says one correspondent. "Every citizen has become his own guardian of the peace. If the drink-shops will remain closed permanently the prisons will be empty, the insane asylums will be without inmates, the police will have nothing to do, the criminal courts will have no one to try, and the physicians will have no one to cure."

AERIAL WARFARE AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

IN the measure that the aircraft became a factor in warfare it became imperative to establish a new code of law governing its area of operation. In a second article in *Santiden* (Christiania) the Norwegian lawyer, T. Falck Andersen, discusses this interesting subject.

The airship has become indispensable as a means of reconnoitering the positions of the enemy. It is feared as an offensive weapon, but its usefulness in the service of peaceful exploits has also been discussed. The French in particular have made extensive trials to test the proposition of the Dutch sanitary officer Movy to employ the airship for the transport of wounded. The well-known French firm, Deperdussin, has constructed an aircraft for this specific purpose. No dissenting voice has yet been heard as to the possibility of removing wounded and sick from the field of battle by this means as soon as the machines were protected by regulations in accord with the Geneva convention. The French author, Dr. Charles L. Julliot, has written on the subject in his book, "Aéro-nefs sanitaires et Convention de la Croix-Rouge." However, it is as a direct participant in modern warfare that authorities on international law have sought to regulate the radius of action of the aircraft.

The writer goes on to review the use of the balloon in the Franco-Prussian war, when there ascended a total of sixty-four balloons during the siege of Paris, carrying 158 persons. Five of these balloons fell into the hands of the Germans. The appearance of these craft was the first step in bringing international law into application for the treatment of the passengers. The Germans feared they were trying to convey reports on the position of the besieging army, yet they were fully aware that existing regulations were inadequate in this particular respect. In November of 1870 Bismarck, therefore, despatched a note to the French Government through the American Ambassador, Washburn.

The question regarding legal protection of aircraft came up at the international conference at Brussels in 1874, where a decision was reached as to the circumstances under which aerial navigators would be regarded as spies. Secrecy or false pretense in gathering information was cause for punishment. Military men flying over the position of the enemy were not to be considered as spies, and, if caught, were to be prisoners of war and to enjoy all the privileges of such prisoners. Civilians carrying private letters over the line were also exempt.

In the first Hague Peace Conference in 1899, when the use of the aircraft for offensive purposes came up for discussion, it was harder to come to a settlement. Frenchmen were sure that by the aid of the aeroplane they would be able to annihilate a whole English fleet. However, "idealism in war has its limits." It was due to the representative of the United States, Captain Crozier, that a time limit of five years was imposed for throwing projectiles or explosive materials from aircraft. The declaration was in force for two or more belligerents, but expired if another power allied itself to one of the warring nations.

At the second Hague Conference, in 1907,

England proposed that the same terms should be extended to the third conference. Twenty-eight states voted in favor, eight against, among them Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. Nevertheless, if aircraft proceed to the attack, they are, according to Article 27, cautioned to use care in the protection of buildings dedicated to worship, art, science, charity, etc. The same article prescribes also that the officer in command should in some way give notice of the commencement of the bombardment.

In conclusion the writer briefly mentions that neutral nations are subject to the same rules. They are called upon to maintain their neutrality in the air.

CARING FOR THE WOUNDED IN WAR

AMID the dreadful welter of carnage and its attendant agony which spells modern warfare one ray of brightness appears in the universal gloom in the shape of the highly organized efficiency of the Red Cross Service, which waits upon battle. *Die Umschau*, of Berlin, prints in a recent issue an admirable description of its activities from the pen of Professor Rupprecht, one of the chief organizers of the German Military Hospital Service, of which we give an abstract:

The stretcher-bearers of the infantry—four to each company—who bear the Red Cross symbol on the arm, when a battle is on hand gather at the end of the battalion (sixteen men with four stretchers) and then proceed to the Infantry Sanitation Car. As soon as the "bandaging camp" is made ready . . . they go to the front with stretchers and knapsacks in order to be ready to give aid to the wounded as soon as possible. Musicians and others are employed as assistant stretcher-bearers. These wear a red band on the sleeve but do not come under the provisions of the Geneva Treaty.

Similar arrangements are made for the cavalry. The so-called "bandaging camp" is for the purpose of gathering the wounded and examining and classifying them. It should be both protected and accessible, and if possible near a water supply. At the end of a battle it is the duty of the troops to search trenches, woods, houses, etc., for the wounded, protect them against plunderers and carry them to the bandaging camp, as also to bury the dead.

At the bandaging camp the surgeons and their assistants must revive and examine the men and make them ready for transport. Operations are

seldom practicable or necessary here. The chief concern is to bandage wounds of bones, joints, and arteries carefully. . . . Severe hemorrhages usually stop of themselves, on which account it is seldom desirable to bind the limb tightly above the wound. The wound itself must never be touched, washed, or probed. After the clothing is removed or cut away it must merely be covered with the contents of the bandage package.

Every soldier carries two of these packages in a pocket on the lower front corner of his left coat-tail. Each package contains a gauze bandage enclosed in a waterproof cover. Each bandage, which is four meters long and seven centimeters wide, is saturated with sublimate and rolled up. About twenty-five centimeters from the front end there is sewed to this bandage a gauze compress saturated with sublimate and of a red color. This compress is seven centimeters wide, thirteen centimeters long, and one centimeter thick. It is thus arranged so that the bandage can be taken hold of with both hands without touching the red compress. On the inner side of the cover these directions are printed:

The red portion of the bandage and the wound itself must *never* be touched by the fingers! Take hold with both hands at the points to right and left marked "*here*,"—hold up the hands and stretch them apart, apply the red strip to the wound, wind the bandage around, and fasten it.

It is strongly impressed upon the stretcher-bearers and all assistants that cases having wounds in the abdomen are not transportable and must on no account be given food or drink; also that bleeding usually stops of itself. They are taught, too, that touching, washing, or probing the wound is injurious,



GERMAN RED CROSS CARRYING A WOUNDED SOLDIER AFTER A STREET BATTLE IN POLAND

and that only *dry* bandages must be placed on the wound,—never those that are damp or impervious.

The wounded who are capable of marching leave their ammunition, except for a few cartridges, at the bandaging camp, are provided if need be with a simple protective bandage, and march first to the nearest "camp for the slightly wounded," or to the nearest "resting-camp" [*etappenort*]. The rest of the wounded are removed as soon as possible directly to the field hospitals or "lazarets." If obliged to remain for a while before removal they are protected by portable tents, wind-screens, etc. . . . If it is impossible to carry the wounded along in a retreat they are left in care of the hospital staff under the protection of the Red Cross.

In case of a big battle a sanitation company remains near the bandaging camp. Every army corps has three of these companies, which, together with the twelve field lazarets of the corps, form a sanitation battalion. Each sanitation company comprises a commander with two subordinate officers, thirty-six soldiers, one toll-keeper, and the necessary grooms for the horses. It also contains one chief surgeon with eight subordinates, one apothecary, one bicyclist, 208 stretcher-bearers, and eight military nurses. It is provided with forty horses and thirteen wagons: one for provisions, two pack-wagons with tent, two sanitation wagons, eight transport wagons for the wounded (each containing seven or nine stretchers). In each stretcher is a pocket for bandages.

As soon as it is apparent that the troops

will remain in one locality for some length of time the smaller bandaging camps or stations are supplemented by a chief bandaging station some distance in the rear, and if possible, near a highway and near houses. At this spot there are arranged places for the entry and exit of the wagons carrying the wounded, for the unloading of the wounded, for the dying and the dead, for cooking, and a "park" for wagons and horses.

The surgeons work in two divisions: those who receive and those who bandage. The chief employ of the former is to divide the men into those who can march, those who can be transported, and those who cannot bear transportation (e. g., having wounds in the abdomen). The wound-chart of the first is white, of the second white with one red stripe at the side, of the third white with two red stripes. . . . The first are sent in troops to assemblage stations for the lightly wounded, the second to the field lazarets constructed farther in the rear, the third are treated in the nearest lazarret. In cases of death the identification tag and cause of death are recorded by the toll-master, who also takes charge of letters, money, and valuables. . . .

Each field lazarret is capable of caring for 200 men, but this capacity may be extended by making use of local aid. Each is under control of the chief surgeon, and the remaining *personnel* comprises one staff and four upper or assistant surgeons, one upper apothecary, three inspectors, three subordinate officers, one bicyclist, one cook, one apothecary's assistant (for manual labor), nine sanitation subordinate officers, fourteen military nurses, twenty-one officers and soldiers for transportation, nine riding and eighteen draft horses, and nine wagons.

The supplies carried by these field-lazarets are very comprehensive, including tents,

straw mattresses and woolen blankets, lighting materials, clothing and linen, tools, cooking utensils, soap, writing materials, drugs and medical appliances, sterilization ovens, bandages, instruments, and an oper-

ating-table. As fast as possible the patients treated are sent home on furlough or removed to permanent military hospitals. The very perfection of this system but deepens the tragic irony that occasions it.

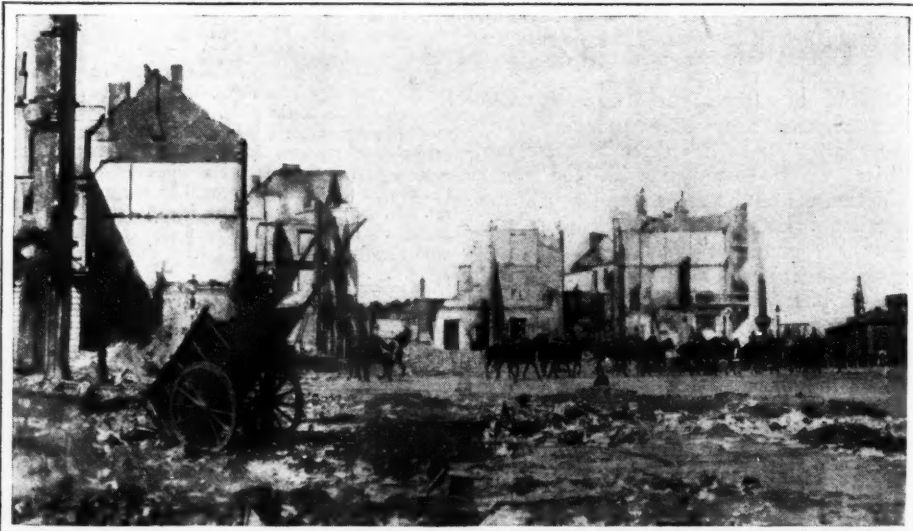
MAKING A DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY AT LOUVAIN

A PLEASANTLY written, intimately reminiscent article on life and study at the University of Louvain is contributed to the *Catholic World* by Dr. William P. H. Kitchin, an alumnus of that now world-famous institution, the buildings of which were destroyed by the German bombardment.

Dr. Kitchin speaks affectionately of the customs of the students and refers to many of the professors of his time by name. He describes the conferring of the theological doctorate degree as always marking a gala day. The coveted distinction demanded six years of post-graduate work. To quote his words:

The whole professional staff in cap and gown would assemble at the *College du Saint-Esprit*, which adjoined the *Halles*. The Cardinal of Malines, with all his suffragan bishops, headed the procession; then came the Rector and his macebearers, the Doctors of Divinity and their colleagues, clerical and lay. Everyone displayed all the badges of honor, both academic and civil, that they could muster, and took care, if I may so

say, to appear in full war-paint. Arrived at the *Aula Maxima* of the university, the candidate for the doctorate was placed in a high pulpit facing all the notabilities of Belgium, and hundreds of curious eyes as well; and for three hours he had to defend a hundred theses against the keenest reasoners and most erudite theologians of the Netherlands. Rival professors of contending schools of thought would assemble fairly spoiling for a fight, and determined, if the wit of man could accomplish it, to put that budding doctor in a quandary. There the Jesuit Father De San, reputed the keenest metaphysician of his day, would come to let the *universitaires* see that there were more secrets in heaven and earth than were dreamed of in their philosophy; or the Dominican Father DeMunynck would object on the crucial theses of Thomism; or Abbé Cauchie or Van Hoonacker would propose difficulties from Church history or Scripture respectively. It was really an intellectual treat to hear two accomplished word-fencers thus contending, to witness the swift parry and thrust of answering syllogism and subsumption. But so well trained are the candidates for this crown of academic honors, and so many years have they spent in arduous study, that failure is practically unknown amongst them. After the mental joust is over, the new doctor is invested with cap and ring, solemnly welcomed by the ac-



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THE CHARRED WALLS OF LOUVAIN UNIVERSITY (GERMAN CAVALRY IN THE FOREGROUND)

colade amongst his elder brethren, and a grand banquet, at which his health is enthusiastically drunk, terminates most agreeably the day's celebration.

Louvain, as an academic institution, com-

bined the systems of both English and continental universities, inasmuch as a student might live in a college if he chose, or board with some of the townspeople while following the course of lectures.

WINTER, THE GENERAL FOE OF ARMIES

THAT severe cold greatly increases the suffering of troops engaged in active warfare is obvious to everyone, and the click of the knitting-needles to be heard over all the land in public places of amusement, as well as by the private hearthstone, is a practical recognition of that fact. But there are other less obvious impediments to warfare created by wintry conditions. More than thirty years ago a well-known German general declared that a book on "Seasonal Tactics" might as properly be written as those on the tactics of weapons, and of geographical conditions.

In the November issue of the *Deutsche Revue* an unsigned article by a veteran of the Franco-Prussian war recounts the difficulties that arise when the Frost King holds sway.

To begin with, the precious hours of daylight are much fewer, and even these may be shortened by overcast skies and heavy fogs. Soft snow and mud seriously impede marching, and at times it is impossible to take cross-country cuts, even single horsemen having

great difficulty in crossing the frozen ridges of plowed fields or stubble. Moreover, even regular highways may become so slippery that they endanger both man and horse, and in hilly country such conditions make it necessary to haul heavy artillery up steep ascents by man-power. Cold head-winds also greatly impede progress.

The necessity of bringing the troops under cover enforces long marches at the end of the day's work and again at its beginning, and therefore makes extra demands on energy.

The interesting point is made that the army of defense is aided by the lateness of attack on the offensive side, the slowness and difficulty of its movement, and the shortness of the time at its disposal before nightfall.

The early dark hinders the offense from carrying out its plans completely and from utilizing any advantage won by following it up energetically. Night battles become frequent. The defense seeks to regain what it has lost by day, the offense to make use of the long nights to win what it could not achieve in the daytime. Then,



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BELGIAN SOLDIERS IN WINTER

too, the need of getting warmed-up makes the troops more enterprising.

All sorts of constructive work,—fortification building, the erection of stations for telegraphs, telephones, and wireless, etc.,—is naturally much more difficult in frozen ground. General von der Goltz of the German Army is said to have recommended many years ago that in view of possible winter campaigns provision should be made in quantity of warm winter clothing, materials for the building of barracks, making double tents, etc. Another important preventive of suffering and the consequent diminished efficiency is to provide plenty of good hot food for the men. The writer makes another point which may rouse controversy. He says:

Warming drinks, even those containing some

alcohol, are to be recommended. Even the anti-alcohol advocates will perhaps forego these demands for total abstinence from the view-point that the use of alcohol in winter in moderate amount and under certain conditions is the lesser evil. Another sort of protection against cold is provided by warm underwear. On this account it is necessary that the field-uniform fit comfortably and not too tightly. . . . Warm feet are very important. Wrapping in blotting paper or soft newspapers is a help to this end. Here, too, a wide shoe is needful for the sake of motion and to allow, too, for the insertion of an insole of felt or straw. Rubber soles are good, too.

Finally, the writer adds:

And don't think it's only the troops in Russia that need these things! We old fellows who were in France over four and forty years ago know that it can be infernally cold there too. And to make matters worse the usual hearth-fire to be found in France affords a poor chance to warm oneself up.

TESTING THE CLOTH FOR GERMAN UNIFORMS

PART of that perfection of preparation which has long been the boast of the German Army lies in the thoroughness with which all goods and munitions are tested for quality. Such tests are the surest guarantee for effectiveness in time of war. A new process for determining the durability of the cloth used in uniforms has recently been invented which seems to give more reliable results than the usual one of the dynamometer. It was described in a recent number of the *Zeitschrift für Angewandte Chemie* (*Journal of Applied Chemistry*) by Mr. A. Kertess, superintendent of the department of dyeing in one of the largest German dye works. We quote from an abstract in *Die Umschau* (Frankfort):

The testing of cloth for its firmness or durability has heretofore been done by the dynamometer. The figures thus obtained represent the results of the controls. Thus, for example, in fabrics for military use it is determined what degrees of firmness and of "stretch" there should be in each material, and every quartermaster's department and every cloth manufacturer tests the products of the looms in accordance.

It has been found in practise, however, according to Mr. Kertess, that while dynamometer tests of yarn for strength and stretch are absolutely reliable, they do not always give a correct idea of the wearing quality of the fabric. This is proved by the fact that officials who have passed goods as

irreproachable by this test have later made complaint that the clothes made from it did not wear well. This has been particularly the case with the "field-gray" uniforms.

This fault in the dynamometer tests has been observed for some years, and led various governments to seek a further test by a "shaving" or scraping machine, the idea being that this test would more nearly approximate the results obtained in usage.

The first government which undertook to test cloth by shaving machines was the Dutch; rotating "polishing" machines were employed. The method was later abandoned, and when I was in Holland, some years ago, and inquired concerning it, I was told that it had been used rather to see how the cloth rubbed off than to test wearing quality. Later the Swiss made similar experiments, but gave them up because it was found that the apparatus gave false figures.

Since then I have occupied myself with this question, starting from the view-point that if it were possible to give all the cloths to be tested similar surfaces to begin with, then correct results must be obtainable.

Various attempts were made to procure uniformity of surface by such means as pressing, roughening, soaking, etc., with little success. These physical means failing to accomplish the desired result, chemical treatment was tried. The cloth is first treated with hydrochloric acid to remove all fats and mineral salts clinging to its fibers, and then with alcohol to secure a thorough saturation.

Thus an entirely new surface is obtained of the required degree of uniformity in all samples.

When cloth thus treated is subjected to the test of the shaving machine, excellent comparative results are obtained. The tests are always made in comparison with a given type-fabric, and the quality of the cloth is estimated by the number of revolutions before the cloth tears. The greatest difficulty to be overcome was in the manufacture of suitable rollers for the shaving machine. The first trials were made with rollers which worked like files, but these very quickly wore out.

The best results have been obtained with rollers having sharply cut grooves by which the shaving was effected. Moreover, specially prepared carborundum rollers were employed, which were found

to remain intact even after four or five months' use.

Application has been made for a patent on the process. In answer to the question to what extent it is useful in testing different fabrics the author says that at present it is only applicable to *felted* cloths, such as are chiefly used for military needs, but that it is probable that it may later be so modified as to furnish a satisfactory test for thinner fabrics.

It is pleasant to think that though the invention was stimulated by the arts of war, it is at least equally applicable to those of peace.

SVEN HEDIN IN THE WESTERN THEATER OF WAR



DR. SVEN HEDIN, THE DISTINGUISHED SWEDISH EXPLORER, WHO HAS BEEN AT THE FRONT WITH THE GERMAN ARMY

THE well-known Swedish scientist and explorer, Dr. Sven Hedin, is one of the few foreign correspondents who have enjoyed the privilege of being with the German army almost from the beginning of the war. His journey to the German front in France

was much noted in Sweden and was considered a special, honorable distinction conferred upon him by the Kaiser himself.

In a letter to the *Sydsvenska Dagbladet* (Malmo) Sven Hedin relates some of his impressions. He traveled by automobile from Berlin through Frankfurt and Coblenz and speaks of the tremendous transports of men, horses, and material moving westward. German thoroughness is noted in everything being ready up to safety-pins, bandages, and ounces of medicine in the thousand of cases in an ambulance train. On the journey from Berlin to the artillery positions under fire he found, in spite of the great strain, everybody quietly attending to duty. From a point of observation in front of the artillery he spoke by telephone with a major in one of the trenches hardly half a kilometer from the outer French lines. The officer spoke quietly and even with a sense of humor.

Sven Hedin goes on to say:

The troops and provisions were brought up over fifty different military routes into Belgium and France, but there was also a continuous stream in the opposite direction—the wounded and the prisoners. I have seen how the prisoners were cared for and have spoken with many hundreds of French prisoners. They spoke without exception of kind and humane treatment. They receive the same healthy food as the German soldiers. Today I have been in an encampment where the French prisoners cooked their own food. They had requested more vegetables and less meat and the request was granted. At one time I conversed with some prisoners that had just been brought in. They were deeply depressed and asked me what fate they had to expect, showing their wounds and speaking with tears in their eyes about their wives and children. I told them they might first expect

a kettle of boiling soup and a fresh loaf of bread; then a physician who would examine and bandage their wounds. Their imprisonment would not be in idleness, but with work, and after peace they would be restored to their country and their families.

It was touching to see the joy in the faces of those poor soldiers, who had spent weeks in the cold and humid trenches dressed in their red trousers and blue coats. With dismay I have seen in foreign papers that French prisoners were badly treated by the Germans. Upon my honor I will state that this is a lie. Behind the firing line the life of every Frenchman is out of range, as far as human power may save it. Out there in the rifle pits German and French soldiers kill each other, but here behind the lines the German soldiers are offering their antagonists cigarettes and show them chivalrous comradeship. No, there is no hatred in Germany against France. Germany would never have touched a French city nor sent a bullet over the French border if she had not been forced to do so. France was driven into the catastrophe, and is bleeding for its friends in the triple entente.

Who is responsible that the revenge idea has been kept alive these forty-four years? Do they really think that German statesmanship will be looking forward to another fifty-year period of French armament and similar national hatred? Is it possible that Germany, this time by means of force, will secure a lasting guarantee of security westward? Where is the French patriot who

has the courage, before it is too late, to go before his people and tell them that they must extend the hand of friendship to Germany? Alas, France is contented to be cajoled by her "friends," and does not consider that Germany, who is fighting for her existence, will continue the struggle to the last man and horse. It is not difficult to discern the outcome here at the front.

The Swedish writer goes on to say that Germany, having raised a loan of 5,000,000 marks, can renew it any time. Moreover, this immense sum will stay in the country. A few days ago there was pay-day with that part of the army. The following day 250,000 marks were sent home.

I have seen the Kaiser out here and I know that he stands on his post as an example for his whole army, and I know how he is adored by his troops. I can state on my honor that the Kaiser used all means in his power to prevent the war. History will give him right, even if men do not want to understand him now. I am hearing the thunder of the guns. I have heard it for weeks. Out there the soldiers are falling, carrying the fate of history at the point of their bayonets with glory. In cosy chambers, far from the fire, statesmen are sitting that have the responsibility for the war. Upon them, in due time, will come the blood of the dead and the curse of the bereft.

BERNARD SHAW'S "COMMON SENSE ABOUT THE WAR"

THE remarkable discussion of the war by George Bernard Shaw, which he calls "Common Sense About the War," has occasioned much comment on both sides of the Atlantic. As republished in this country, it occupied between six and eight newspaper pages, but its points as recapitulated by the author himself may be stated in very brief space.

It is Mr. Shaw's view that the victory must be won by England and France, leaving to Russia the task of conquering Austria if she can. But if Russia's aid is required to defeat Germany, western European liberalism would be itself defeated. In the second place, since England and France will both have to live with Germany after the war, there must be no undue humiliation of Germany when the peace is made, nor should anything be done to perpetuate hatred between England and Germany or between France and Germany.

In the peace negotiations no claim must be set up for any moral superiority on the part of either England or Germany. Both have sinned. Even in the case of the alleged violation of Belgian neutrality England's

skirts are not clear because she admitted that she would have gone to war in defense of France, whether the Germans came through Belgium or not.

Militarism as a disease afflicts England and France not less than Prussia. All the European powers have been equally guilty in the past. As for atrocities in this war, there is no trustworthy evidence that the Germans have been guilty of anything worse than what is generally accepted as belonging to military usage. The attack on the Rheims Cathedral was justified by the fact that the French had used the roof as a place of observation. Finally, the war must end not only militarism, but secret diplomacy and every form of autocracy, and show the world that these outworn institutions are at last replaced by democracy.

Of all the great authors in the belligerent countries who have written on the war so far there is only one who comes near to Shaw in his general condemnation of all who were responsible in bringing about the war, irrespective of what country they belong to. It is Romain Rolland, the foremost French novelist, author of "Jean-Christophe." To

him as to Shaw the war is a sheer outrage upon the people, and Russian militarism no better than Prussian militarism. Writing in the *Journal de Genève*, he says:

We Western nations have no cause to wage war with each other. In spite of all the statements in the press who uphold the minority interested in maintaining international hatreds, we French brothers, English brothers, German brothers do not feel any hatred towards one another. Our people want only peace and liberty. Who brought about this misfortune in Europe? Who brought the people into such a desperate position that they must either kill their opponents or die? Who if not the governments? That is to say, in my opinion, the three great criminals, the three

hungry birds of prey, the ruinous policy of the Austrian Government, the all-grabbing czarism, and ferocious Prussia.

The enemy is not across the frontiers. He dwells within in every country, and not one nation has the maphead to fight him. The enemy—it is the thousand-headed monster Imperialism, it is the haughty desire for dominion, eager to swallow up everything, and bent upon suppressing all greatness based upon liberty. Every nation to a larger or smaller degree is groaning under the burden of Imperialism, whatever its form, whether military, financial, feudal, republican, social or spiritual. Like a hyena it sucks the best blood of Europe. Against this Imperialism the free people of all nations will arise as soon as the war ends, and with the device of Voltaire will sweep it out of existence.

POULTNEY BIGELOW AND THE KAISER

THERE is at least one American now living who was a schoolboy friend of the German Kaiser at Potsdam at the period of the Franco-German War of 1870-71. Poultney Bigelow, in after years the author of the "History of the German Struggle for Liberty," was then, like the young grandson of Emperor William I, in charge of a tutor at Potsdam, and for twenty-five years the relations between the German scion of royalty and the son of our former Minister to France were most cordial. Mr. Bigelow, as is well known, was the favored guest at most of the German court functions, including those of a military nature.

As he states in a letter to Dr. Paul Carus, the editor of the *Open Court* (Chicago), which is published in the December issue of that magazine, Mr. Bigelow blames only himself for the termination of that friendship in 1896. He declares that William II has consistently followed ideals of the purest and loftiest character and that those ideals have led him to conclusions which he (Mr. Bigelow) respects, but cannot share. He characterizes the Kaiser as "a Hohenzollern through and through and a gentleman into the bargain—which can be said of very few of that illustrious line."

It is well known that Mr. Bigelow's book, the "History of the German Struggle for Liberty," was not altogether pleasing to the Berlin court. As Mr. Bigelow admits, "it was not written in the spirit of Treitschke, for whom I have immense respect personally, but none whatever as a philosophic historian."

Mr. Bigelow has no evidence that the



AN OCEAN SNAP-SHOT OF MR. POULTNEY BIGELOW

Kaiser ever made an official promise to help the Boers against England in 1900, and he says that if he had made such a promise he would have kept it. "I never knew William II to tell a falsehood; I have never known him to accuse another of falsehood. But he has often created false impressions by giving way to the generous impulses of his nature, and the Kruger telegram is a glaring illustration."

Although Mr. Bigelow looks for peace in

1915,—dictated not by William II, but by the Allies,—he regards this prediction as in no way incompatible with his opinion that William II has already in this campaign proved himself "the greatest soldier since Frederick the Great," as Mr. Bigelow himself characterized him as long ago as 1889. At this moment, however, Mr. Bigelow is not concerned with William II the man, whom he esteems for his manly qualities, but with "William II as a responsible leader of a great nation in arms and therefore head of a power capable of wrecking or elevating any social structure within its reach."

Like other American observers, Mr. Bigelow is convinced that Germany to-day is dominated by "a school of soldiers, thinkers, and officials who clamor for German expansion and hiss down the moderate, wise people who deplore bloodshed as a means of spreading commercial prosperity." These military-minded expansionists have convinced themselves that England owes her position to her colonies, and that with the conquest of England Germany will at once be the ruler of the world.

The Germans themselves, however, are colonizing under the British flag, not under that of Germany. "While German merchants and German scholars have been for the past thirty years enriching themselves in England and in every British colony and spreading the fame of German wares and German culture, official Germany has been as industriously spreading distrust and rumors of war." In the one port of Singapore, Mr. Bigelow has counted at one moment twenty-five funnels of the North German Lloyd Steamship Company of Bremen; the ships of that company carried the British mails throughout Malaya; German merchants were quietly absorbing the trade of England's Far East, as they had that of South America.

All was going smoothly for the German individual colonist and merchant. How often have I heard him say: "I am doing very well—if only my *verdamnte* government would leave me alone!"

Let an Englishman try to do business in Germany or in a German colony, and he will repent it. Germans in a British colony have the same rights as an Englishman or American—and no wonder that "made in Germany" has ceased to be ornamental in British eyes!

HOW THE TURKS JUSTIFY THEIR ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR

ALL the European belligerents,—and the neutrals as well,—agree that the fate of the Ottoman Empire will be finally settled by this war. The Turkish press is full of indignant attacks on the entente powers. According to the *Jeune-Turc*, the Turks feel that they are only defending themselves against "implacable enemies." As to the first acts of war, this journal says:

The Turks claim that they were attacked first by a Russian fleet at the entrance of the Bosphorus, that the Dardanelles were practically blockaded by an Anglo-French fleet, that Akaba was bombarded and a landing attempted there, the first two acts before any declaration of war by Russia or England, and that only when they were thus provoked did they bombard Russian Black Sea ports.

Commenting on these claims the *Jeune-Turc* remarks:

We desired peace and tranquillity, but it was impossible for us to consider the incidents in the Egean and Black Sea, the aggression on our oriental frontiers, as anything else than pre-arranged acts. . . . The gauntlet has been thrown at us and we are lifting it up with courage and pride. . . . The great mistake of the allied powers was to believe that Turkey of 1914 was the Turkey of old, of despotism, trembling before the frowns and the threats of the great

powers. The situation has changed completely, and no such surprise as in 1912 was possible. A watchful government is ours that has not allowed itself to be coaxed by nice promises.

The text of the Sultan's manifesto to the Turkish army and navy is published in all the journals. It summarizes the reason for which Turkey regarded herself as justified in joining the Austro-German alliance against the Triple Entente. Referring to the historic enmity of Russia, and the growing hostility of Britain and France, the manifesto goes on to say:

For three centuries Russia has brought about many territorial losses to our Empire and has always tried by war and thousands of ruses to destroy every promise of awakening and regeneration, tending to increase our national power and strength. The Russian, English and French governments, who make three hundred million Moslems groan under a tyrannic régime, have never ceased to harbor malignant intentions against our Caliphate, to which these Moslems are attached by religion and heart. Those states were the causes or the instigators of every misfortune and disaster which have befallen us. By the supreme struggle, which we undertake at present, we shall put an end, with the grace of the Almighty, to all the attacks which have at all times been directed against the prestige of our Caliphate on one side and our sovereign rights on the other.

THE TEACHINGS AND INFLUENCE OF TREITSCHKE

A LARGE part of the transformation in German national character in the last sixty years,—“easygoing, kindly, and pleasure-loving; capable of high achievements in art and science, but unpractical, unaggressive and singularly unfitted for political organization,” to the assertive militarism of to-day,—has been ascribed to the personal influence of Heinrich von Treitschke. While this is in a large measure true, it is more true that Treitschke recorded rather than influenced such transformation. President Arthur T. Hadley, of Yale University, who attended the lectures of Treitschke at the University of Berlin in the later seventies of the past century, contributes to the *Yale Review* an article on this German orator, journalist, and historian, which is very illuminating.

Far from identifying the nation's military efficiency with its idealism (as some English writers have charged him with doing), Treitschke, says Dr. Hadley, always maintained that

under existing circumstances the power of a nation to assert its political ideals was dependent upon having a strong army; but he never for a single instant countenanced the idea that the mere possession of military power proved that a nation had right ideals. On the contrary, he emphasized and deplored most bitterly the deterioration of German national character at the time of the consolidation of the German Empire in 1870.

Dr. Hadley protests against Treitschke being held responsible for many of the utterances of Bernhardi, but particularly for those of Nietzsche, “of whose views he publicly expressed his disapproval as often as he had a chance.” There is no similarity whatever between the doctrines of Treitschke and Nietzsche, he tells us.

Nietzsche preached the paramount duty of self-assertion. Treitschke preached the paramount duty of self-sacrifice. Nietzsche held that Christian morality, and in fact all morality, represented outworn superstition. Treitschke held that Christian morality was the most fundamentally necessary thing in modern life. Nietzsche worshipped power, and regarded ideals as mischievous illusions. Treitschke was an idealist to the very core, and regarded the exercise of power as justified only when it was used for the promotion of moral ideals.

Treitschke, says Dr. Hadley, was a herald of the new phase of German character, but he “framed no system of thought.”

Treitschke himself was a man of feeling rather

than a man of reason. It is true that he had many characteristics of the thinker. He was a man of research, who would use infinite pains to get all the evidence at command. He never intentionally suppressed or misstated a fact. His range of knowledge was as remarkable as his thoroughness of investigation. At the time when I saw most of him, in the later seventies, America was an undiscovered country to the majority of Germans. But Treitschke, though he had never visited America, knew its history and its institutions and even the minor details of its daily life. In common with many of his countrymen, he had a rather exaggerated idea of Chicago; but with this exception, his information was almost always correct, and always vital and pertinent. Washington and Jackson and Lincoln were living men to him. American institutions were analyzed and criticized with sympathetic appreciation. But amid all this careful study of fact, his judgments were essentially intuitive. He was not temperamentally a thinker. He did not reason out his conclusions; he saw them, and let the reasoning follow.

As a lecturer Treitschke had many points of resemblance with William Graham Sumner, says Dr. Hadley.

There was the same enormous knowledge of fact, the same independence of convention, the same clearness of vision as to what the lecturer saw, and impatience of consideration as to what the lecturer did not see; the same lofty idealism and the same scorn of diplomatic compromise. When someone urged the necessity of tactful negotiation, and said that it was not wise to tell the truth butt end foremost, Sumner once burst out with the dictum, “If there is anything that the truth was made for, it was to be told butt end foremost!” I have heard Treitschke express the same sentiment in almost identical form.

Far from glorifying Germany, Treitschke was; although devoted to Prussia in particular, a keen critic of all the German states, says Dr. Hadley.

The audience that gathered on the ground floor of the University of Berlin to listen to Treitschke's lectures on politics was a cosmopolitan one,—Germans from every state, foreigners from every nation. It was a rather curious thing that each group thought that Treitschke singled it out for particularly bitter criticism. Devoted as he was to Prussia, his attacks on the policy of the government frequently called forth stamps of angry protest from the Prussians in the audience. Treitschke was too deaf to hear the stamping, but he could see it; and when he saw any such demonstration he would draw himself up to his full height and say the same thing over again in accentuated form, as if he took delight in the storm that he had provoked.

Towards America Treitschke's feelings

were decidedly those of a friend. Towards France and Russia he had apparently no animosity,—always providing that these nations did not interfere with German development. The turning of his feelings against England was due to the fact that he held that power “most likely to prevent Germany’s expansion.” But his criticism of England was not indiscriminating.

His essay on Milton is one of the most appreciative pieces of historical criticism that has ever been written. So far as England of the present day has remained true to the ideals of Milton, he approves of it. As late as 1874, he commends

to the admiration of his fellow countrymen “the massive good sense of the Englishman, which, although it has in it much of hard-hearted class consciousness and much of unintellectual narrowness, nevertheless represents the political instinct of a free people which knows how to fight.” What he criticizes in the modern Englishman is that he has fallen away from the ideals of earlier centuries and has used his inherited political experience as an aid to selfishness rather than to self-sacrifice.

Treitschke, says Dr. Hadley in conclusion, was “so much a man of feeling that it is hard to give a coherent summary of his scheme of thought.”

THE GERMAN CONSTITUTIONAL MOVEMENT AND THE WAR

HOWEVER the present great conflict may affect the political boundaries of Germany, it is hardly likely, writes William Harbutt Dawson, in the *Contemporary Review*, to “leave unchanged the boundaries of its political liberty.

This English writer reviews the course of the German fight for constitutional liberty from the Napoleonic era to the present. The Prussian nation, he maintains, has no reason to look back with

feelings of either satisfaction or gratitude upon its long struggle with the Crown for liberties which are the birthright of the free nations of western Europe, for the fruits yielded have been scanty and unsubstantial.

The position of the sovereign in Prussia, he reminds us, is “supreme and unassailable,” not only by tradition, but in constitutional theory and fact. As to the scant power of the legislative body, he says:

The predominant parliamentary form is a diet of two chambers, each possessed of equal power, but subject to an absolute veto on the part of the Government, which means the Crown, since ministers are both appointed and removable by the sovereign, and neither of the legislative bodies can exercise directive control over them. For practical purposes a German Legislature is merely a discussion club, with the mortifying difference that though it may end its discussions by adopting solemn resolutions, these resolutions cannot be executed unless graciously endorsed by a will outside its own. Below this exaggeration there is a foundation of truth, but if the words were literally accurate, it would not be very surprising. A German parliament achieves little on its own initiative, because it has no scope for the exercise of creative power, and is treated as a mere adjunct of the crown; it is accepted as a more or less necessary instrument for the execution of the royal will, but it is not expected to have a will of its own or allowed to assert one.

Prussia alone is responsible for this reactionary situation.

It is Prussia more than any other part of Germany, or all the rest of Germany together, which is responsible for the semi-absolutistic spirit in which that great country is still ruled, and by Prussia must be understood the Emperor-King, with his absurd pretensions of divine right, backed up by the military and bureaucratic caste and the Junker party, from which that caste is chiefly drawn and which controls Government policy in both Houses of the National Diet. The Junkers have never frankly recognized the new order which came into being when, in 1849, King Frederick William IV capitulated to constitutionalism, and they would subvert it to-day if they could. Moreover, the reactionary spirit which these irreconcilables display in the Parliament which they dominate and discredit they carry into the Parliament of the Empire, and endeavor to translate into the policy and legislation of the Imperial Government. It is not long since a typical Junker, one Herr von Oldenburg, declared, in the Imperial Diet, that “the Emperor should be in a position at any moment to say to a lieutenant, ‘Take ten men and shut up the Reichstag.’”

Recent German history, moreover, has shown repeatedly that

the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, as interpreted by the German Emperor and his government, simply means that the former enjoys the privilege of making mischief by his indiscretions and of leaving his Chancellor to set things right. When such episodes occur the Reichstag debates vehemently; the press of all complexions storms as only a government-regulated press can storm when it momentarily slips the chain; and the nation, taking its cue from what it hears and reads, demands with entire sincerity that something shall be done; but as soon as passion has exhausted itself the matter ends with resolutions.

In conclusion, Mr. Harbutt Dawson has this to say:

Thoughtful Germans know well that one of the

principal reasons why all past attempts to bring about a good understanding between their country and our own [the English] have failed has been the fact that the German Government does not represent the German people, and that in the determination of national policy the nation has no effective voice. Nothing short of the substitu-

tion of genuine Parliamentary government for the present discredited personal *régime* will satisfy the aspirations of the modern democracy and give to the German nation the chance of striking at notorious evils which have now brought it to the verge of disaster and have caused it to forfeit the sympathy of the entire civilized world.

WHAT ITALY GAINS BY REMAINING NEUTRAL

THE advantages resulting to Italy from a strict maintenance of her neutrality are convincingly stated in *Nuova Antologia* by an "ex-diplomat." He warns against the dangers that would ensue if the impatience of the friends of one side or the other in the great conflict should be permitted to influence Italian policy so as to involve the country in the dreadful war now raging. Reciting the considerations favoring the government's determination not to change its present policy, he says:

Our material interests and the lives of our countrymen are not risked in the bloody venture of battles, and we have reason to hope that the indispensable continuity of our national labor will not be interrupted. Neither contracted obligations nor reasonable scruples prevent us, according to commonly accepted and respected rules, from prohibiting the exportation of the surplus of agricultural and industrial products over and above what must be guarded for the sustenance and defense of the peninsula, and trade, the basis of our economic activity, is being gradually resumed and may be expected to increase still further.

We have no lack of laborers to raise and reap our crops, to till and sow our fertile fields; almost all our factories are still in operation and slowly but surely the delicate strands of credit, so rudely snapped asunder by the outbreak of the world-war are being reknit.

We cannot pretend that we should derive any profit from the present unfortunate situation which has enforced the return to their native land upon many thousands of Italians who had found work in foreign countries; we cannot cherish fond hopes of prosperity; we can only comfort ourselves with the thought that not all the currents of production are arrested, and that fields for Italian labor still remain open, and this conviction is strengthened by the current price of our national securities as well as by the relatively moderate rate of exchange. Consoled by this knowledge, and aided by the efficient action of our government, the country is gradually recovering from the panic that overtook us at the end of last July, savings are flowing back to well-known institutions, and the supple genius of our people has sought and found a way to adapt our reserve energies to the new necessities. . . . Neutrality, therefore, has proved an effectual defense for our economic interests against greater and worse evils, and from a political standpoint it has procured for us the signal advantage of inducing many foreigners to justly estimate the worth of Italian friendship and of Italian power.

As to the extent of the obligation imposed upon Italy by the triple alliance, the writer lays stress on the fact that Austria's ultimatum to Serbia, in its tenor and its requirements, exceeded the manner of Serbia's direct responsibility for the dreadful crime of Serajevo. As a possible peaceful solution of the question had been proposed by Sir Edward Grey, through concerted action by the interested powers,—Germany, France, Russia, and England,—and this had not been absolutely refused by Germany at the outset, he insists that the war did not arise because of any necessity on the part of the members of the triple alliance to defend themselves from aggression. He continues:

However, outside of the intrinsic arguments, we must all take into consideration the extrinsic ones. It is inadmissible that a country should be forced to take so important a step as to participate in a war,—even in one less vast and terrible than that now raging,—simply because of a previous general engagement, when this is not subject to control and recognizable by all as indubitable, that is to say, without the attainment of an understanding reached through examination of the grounds leading to a common agreement.

Now, not even this understanding, which we must regard as fundamental, has been attained. The note sent to Serbia, in which Russia was unquestionably an interested party, was not communicated to our Government before it was transmitted to the telegraphic bureaux of information. Hence neither the scope of the treaty nor the considerations that determined the contest imposed upon us any obligation of solidarity. This fact has indeed been loyally recognized by the allied empires, as is shown by the statements of official journals and of eminent statesmen, both German and Austro-Hungarian.

As to the considerations that might induce Italy to abandon her neutrality, this writer asserts that as yet there is no immediate prospect of such a change. While Von Bülow directs our attention solely to the Mediterranean, M. Pichon sees only the Adriatic, but Italy's interests are equally involved in both directions. In the meanwhile an armed neutrality assures to Italy protection from any unpleasant surprises, and may enable her to voice those sentiments of equity which alone can lead to a durable peace.

CURES BY ABSORPTION

SOME very recent experiments by modern physicians have led to the revival of the treatment of certain maladies by means of substances having a high absorbent power. Centuries ago fine white clay was highly esteemed as a dressing for wounds, especially those with a foul discharge and for such diseases of the alimentary canal as diarrhœa, cholera, typhus, and flux, as well as for "heart-burn" and for cases of poisoning. In the last century powdered charcoal was employed for similar purposes. As early as 1830 a heroic druggist named Thouéry ventured to swallow 1 gram of strychnine (about ten times the average lethal dose), together with fifteen grams of charcoal powder. He escaped without injury, and thus proved the virtue that inheres in charcoal.

Unfortunately, instances of such remarkable efficacy led to absorbents being tried enthusiastically for such different things as cancer and consumption, where they naturally failed of effect. According to a modern authority, Prof. L. Lichtwitz, of Göttingen, this is the reason that absorption therapy became discredited and was neglected until practically forgotten.

In an article in *Die Naturwissenschaften* (Berlin) he says:

The first person to revive this old, forgotten therapeutics was I. Stumpf, who first made successful use of *bolus alba* (kaolin) to bandage wounds having a copious and putrid discharge. Stumpf then began to give *bolus alba* for the cholera morbus of children and in cases of Asiatic cholera, and was successful here also. He has recently announced excellent results from its use in a Bulgarian cholera hospital. He also carried out two experiments on dogs. Within 11 days' time they received respectively 1.2 grams and 3.5 grams of pulverized white arsenic (many times the amount of the usual fatal dose), together with 400 grams of *bolus*, without dying.

Professor Lichtwitz has personally investigated different absorbents and their action on different substances. He divides the domain in which they are applicable into four departments:

1. Maladies of the stomach, such as hyperchlorhydria and its consequences (especially *ulcus pepticum*) and fermentative processes.

2. Bacterial affections of the intestines in which the whole organism is endangered by bacterial toxins.

3. Gastro-intestinal auto-intoxication.

4. Poisonings.

From this summary of the field of action it is obvious that it was necessary to investi-

gate the absorption of hydrochloric acid (which is the principal component of the gastric juice), lactic acid, the various ferments (pepsin, trypsin, etc.) and various toxins. He continues:

We have carried out such investigations and find that hydrochloric acid is absorbed, both in the test tube and in the stomach, by blood-charcoal, kaolin, *Magisterium Bismuthi*, and *neutrolon* to such an extent that hyperchlorhydria is reduced to the normal. Pepsin also is absorbed by all these media, both in the stomach and in the test tube. It is particularly interesting that bismuth, which is so much employed in the therapeutics of supersecretion and of ulceration of the stomach, should prove to be an absorbent.

The absorption of ferments is an irreversible action . . . the most strongly absorbent medium being blood-charcoal (Merck's). We investigated two easily measurable blood-dissolving poisons: that of the cobra and that of the garden spider (*arachnolysin*). In both the absorptive action was irreversible, and here again the strongest absorbent was Merck's blood-charcoal.

An important point made by the writer is that both blood-charcoal and kaolin can be prescribed for invalids without hesitation, since they are quite harmless even in large doses. He states that he has employed them in many cases of stomach trouble with good results. A curious fact is that when given before meals they strongly affect the appetite.

Thus heavy eaters, or those taking an obesity cure, may curb the pangs of gnawing hunger by swallowing clay or charcoal. The effect here, says the author, is doubtless due to the absorption of what is known as the "appetite juice," which is an important constituent of the stomachic secretion. For patients suffering from supersecretion, on the other hand, the charcoal or kaolin is given after meals instead of before. He also gives details of one case in his own knowledge where a victim of a severe case of anemia was cured by the washing out of the stomach and intestine and the giving of large doses of kaolin. He says further:

The absorption of gases by charcoal has led to attempts to aid flatulence by its use. If success be attained it is probably not due to absorption of the gases themselves, since this is possible only with dry charcoal, but to absorption of the putrescent matter or of the bacteria which cause the evolution of the gas.

The article concludes with an account of some very remarkable experiments with divers very virulent poisons. Blood-charcoal was used with excellent results on both animals and human beings.

THE POLES AND AUSTRIA

OF all the states taking part in the present war, the greatest game is being played by Austria, says the *Gazeta Warszawska* (*Warsaw Gazette*), for she is playing for her existence. A people confident of its national status may in war sustain great losses. It may lose much importance and influence. It may even be stripped of its independence. Yet it will not cease to be a nation, and it has the ability of reviving subsequently. When Austria loses, however, it is more than probable, the *Gazeta Warszawska* believes, that she will vanish from the map of Europe—"And the funeral of Austria once performed, will mean her death forever."

Of this artificial mass, which is the survivor of the ancient German Empire, and which is oppressing other peoples, principally the Slavonians,—when it shall once be smashed, there will remain no force that could again create it that would even wish to aspire to do so.

Having cleaved, for the salvation of its being, to Prussianized Germany, this state to-day is at war, not only with Servia, which it attacked, and with Russia, which could not permit the crushing of Servia, but also with France and England,—while in the near future the number of its adversaries will probably increase. Preparations are making for the funeral of the monarchy of the Hapsburgs, on which many peoples will look with delight, and few will mourn.

Although in this war the Poles are not a belligerent party, as they have not their own army, yet, in view of the fact that the war is being carried on particularly on their soil, the *Gazeta Warszawska* believes that it is not a matter of indifference to anybody on which side they stand. The directors of the policies of the Austrian state, observes this Polish journal, for a long time did not doubt that the Poles could side solely with Austria.

The Austrian diplomats, with that shortsightedness by which they have always been distinguished, did not observe that the political thought in the Polish nation has in latter times begun to ripen rapidly, and that the nation has begun by reason of it to widen its horizon. They did not comprehend that for our orientation it no longer suffices that one-fifth of our nation living in the Austrian portion of Poland avails itself of a certain degree of political and national liberties,—sapped, for the rest, of its influence and consequence by the policy (really hostile to us) of the Austrian Government. They did not comprehend that over our orientation the question, What will become of the Polish nation as a whole,—what is the greatest menace to our national being as a whole? has the ascendancy. And they did not know that for years in the mass of our nation,—from the reflective politicians, guided by deeper thought, to the wide strata of the people, governed by sound national

instinct,—the feeling has become firmly fixed that the most menacing, most dangerous foe of our national future are the Germans, and that, for us, all are foes that support the Germans.

To many Austrian politicians, undoubtedly, there came as a surprise the fervor that seized our country at the outbreak of the war; the slogan, discharged full breast, "At the German!" with which there went at once, without hesitation, everybody, from the masses of the reservists, going to the war as a wedding feast, to the representatives of our country at St. Petersburg, declaring the attitude of our nation. Yea, "At the German!" to destroy that nest of implacable foes devouring the oldest as well as most important sections of our national future, destroying the Polish culture with rigid consistency and ejecting the Polish people from its immemorial seats; to demolish the forge of intrigues that have been carried on against us in all countries! This is the slogan which soared above Poland in that great, historic, threatening moment. But, if at the German, then also at the Austrian, who helps the German. When the obsequies of Austria take place, we shall not weep.

Of all the parts of Poland, Galicia has always stood farthest from the universal national life, declares the *Gazeta Warszawska*.

Rent from Poland at the first partition, taking no part in the movement of rebirth that came later, standing aloof from the great national movements,—she formed for herself her own distinct political psychics and has lost the ability for a deeper comprehension of the rest of Poland.

In this division of Poland, after it had obtained political and national liberties, there was developed a practical political life, and in this life men of that section acquired no small political proficiency. But the proficiency has been consumed merely in local and Austrian affairs. The Galician politicians have been losing more and more the ability to comprehend the Polish cause as a whole. Finally, men whom the Polish cause does not interest,—men who, under the name of a Polish policy, pursue at best a policy in part Galician, in part Austrian,—have even attained to dominating influence. Among the Austrian politicians there have even been men capable of playing in politics the Poles in Russian Poland, in the same way that the Vienna politicians play the Albanians in the Balkans,—men ready to serve the aims of the Austrian policy as agents in the Polish cause. Although there are not many of these, still, thanks to their position, they have great influence.

And now Galicia, this fifth part of the nation,—veritably or ostensibly,—again takes her stand against the gigantic majority of the nation, against its will, on the side,—as she comprehends,—of Austria; but, as the whole world comprehends, in defense of Prussianism.

This "stupefaction of the mind and reason of the nation," the *Gazeta Warszawska* says, is perhaps the greatest of all the dangers menacing the Poles in the midst of the calamities which the war is bringing upon their country.

OUR ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED

THE only "army" in America of numerical consequence at this moment is the so-called army of the out-of-works. A year ago much discussion arose concerning the enlistment and maintenance of this army, and, according to an article contributed by Mr. William Parr Capes to the *North American Review* for December, this discussion had certain fruitful results. It has at least laid bare a situation that has existed in this country for a long time, but until recently had not been recognized by any except students of industrial and economic conditions and others whose occupation brought them into immediate contact with it. It is now known that every city at all times has an unemployment problem, and some of our State governments have been brought to see the need of constructive legislation.

There are those who contend that the size of the army of unemployed one year ago was only normal, and not the result of abnormal industrial and commercial conditions. If this is a fact it simply furnishes added proof of our national negligence and further emphasizes, as Mr. Capes points out, the necessity for constructive work. Within the last twelve months, says Mr. Capes, more consideration has been given to the needs of the men out of work by more individuals and organizations, and more has been accomplished in the way of making basic studies and providing remedial measures than within any similar period in some time.

GETTING THE FACTS

There is now a strong tendency to advocate and to demand something more than a temporary substitute for work for the idle. We are beginning to see the fallacy of trying to bring about permanent improvement by relying upon palliative measures such as bread lines and soup kitchens. Public officials having to do with this problem are more interested than ever before in obtaining the facts of the situation. The Department of Charities of New York City, supported by private social-service agencies, made a comprehensive inquiry during the first three months of the year 1914 into the physical, mental and social history of 1483 homeless men who applied for aid at the Municipal Lodging House. This study yielded valuable data which may be used to guide the officials of New York in formulating a constructive plan to maintain its helpless dependents.

One of the first important steps in the so-

lution of the unemployment problem should be a thorough and comprehensive study of the character and capability of the homeless men and women who apply for relief. We shall then have some basis upon which to establish the number of homeless applicants who are incapable because of old age or other handicaps, the number of those who have legal residence in other localities and friends and relatives able to assist them with homes or work, the number of tramps, vagrants, inebriates, and beggars, and the number of those who are aliens and should be returned to the Commissioner of Immigration as public dependents in accordance with the law.

FARM COLONIES

The State of New York has authorized the establishment of a State farm colony for tramps and vagrants, but at the present time this project is practically at a standstill. With an institution of this kind for those who either are unfitted to work or refuse to do honest labor, and who, after care and training, would be capable of honest self-support, every community would be able quickly to rid itself of this class of helpless beings and parasites. Switzerland has shown what can be expected from this line of procedure. Another class of the unemployable would be provided for by the establishment of a State custodial asylum for feeble-minded delinquents. The municipality of New York has already committed itself to the policy of care for inebriates. The establishment of a farm colony for this class of defectives has been authorized and a site has been selected. There is also need of proper facilities for the detention of homeless wanderers ill of tuberculosis and convalescent homes for the care of poor persons. To this list should be added adequate almshouse accommodations.

The operation of these institutions would certainly greatly reduce the number of those who are continually applying for public aid in our cities and towns. Besides reducing the number of the unemployed, the problem of finding work for the employable would be made less complicated. A greater number of employers would be eager to cooperate for the reason that they would have confidence in the fitness of those in whose behalf relief agencies and city administrations are laboring. This confidence is now lacking because of the knowledge that many seeking work and in whose behalf work is being sought are not worthy of hire.

ELECTRIC RAILWAY PROGRESS

COMPLETE statistics covering the extensions of electric railways made in all parts of the country during the last year are not at hand at this writing; but, while such extensions have been in the aggregate far below the normal average for any other year in the last decade, owing to the collapse of the money markets of the world which made financing of all public utilities extremely difficult (and new ventures impossible); a few notable extensions have been built. One such, a long link in the chain of electric interurban railways radiating from Dallas, Texas, completes the Texas Traction Company's electric railway system of approximately 250 miles,—by far the longest in Texas and the longest in the whole South.

The growth of electric railway lines in our American cities has come to be a perfectly natural and inevitable concomitant of the growth of the cities themselves, and the extension of such transportation facilities, instead of stimulating and leading city growth as was formerly the common case, nowadays in many instances cannot keep pace with the rapidity of urban development. And as soon as general and complete financial readjustments are thoroughly under way electric railway extensions into the rural districts undoubtedly will be resumed, and that on a greater scale than ever before. For this factor has contributed in a greater degree to the advancement of farming in communities remote from markets than any other development of modern times. The electric railway has brought the markets to the farmer's door, and has also operated to improve immensely social conditions on the farm. In the words of one wide-awake electric railway president, "As a device for taking up what may be called economic lost motion between the city and the country, the electric railway has no superior."

Writing recently, in the *Electric Railway Journal*, on "Five Years' Development of the American Electric Railway," Frank R. Ford, of the engineering firm of Ford, Bacon & Davis, sums up the findings of a careful study of the statistics of the whole field in the following general conclusions:

1. The business as a whole is being operated more economically and conservatively.
2. Maintenance and depreciation of property are being better provided for.
3. Increased net earnings due to more efficient operation are being largely absorbed by increased taxes.
4. Capital is receiving a slightly enlarged

return, but the increase is too small to be attractive in comparison with the returns in other industries.

5. Development of and investment in the industry are not keeping pace with the increase of traffic.

Throughout the twelve months just ended the attention, indeed the most careful and studious consideration, of electric railway officers and managers in all parts of the country has been devoted largely to two subjects of supreme public interest and importance: first, the ramifications of the "Safety First" movement; and, secondly, the broader and all-inclusive subject of "Public Relations." There has come to be a pretty general recognition on the part of all enlightened electric railway management that, while the returns for the expenditure are difficult to measure in dollars and cents, there is absolute certainty of a good return on all of the money that a railway is likely to spend on safety work. This, entirely aside from all personal feelings of humanitarianism (and electric railway men are not devoid of such), is pretty good evidence that the Safety First movement is only in its infancy, and that there is sure to be a rapidly and steadily increasing utilization by electric railway companies of every practical device and precautionary measure for the safeguarding of life and limb.

Along with most other public service corporations, the electric railway companies to-day realize that the question of their public relations underlies their financial existence. This subject of public relations naturally divides itself into three parts, namely: the proper attitude of the companies and the public towards each other, the improvements possible in operating conditions, and the broad question of regulation. The *Electric Railway Journal* recently devoted a special extra number or "annual convention section" of more than 100 pages to a symposium of articles on this subject contributed by many leaders of the industry, by members of several public service commissions, and by such well-known publicists as Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus, of Harvard; Dugald C. Jackson, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Alexander C. Humphreys, president of Stevens Institute of Technology; and others. Speaking editorially, the *Journal* says that this question of public relations "is the paramount question to-day before the electric railways of the country."

PROFESSOR ELY ON PROPERTY AND CONTRACT



PROFESSOR RICHARD T. ELY, OF THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
(Author of "Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of Wealth")

THERE is a grain of reason for the seeming divergence between advanced social philosophy in this country and the decisions of our courts on social questions. Save in rare instances, social theory has not been taught in our law schools, and most of the lawyers who come to the bench are without special training or equipment in any branch of sociology. As Professor Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard Law School, has remarked, "It is still good form for the lawyer to look upon our eighteenth-century Bills of Rights as authoritative text-books of politics, of

ethics, and of economics." Lawyers as a class do not come in contact, as much as they should, with the literature of modern economic thought. It is not strange that many judicial decisions seem antiquated in viewpoint. The men who write these decisions simply do not know what has been going on in the economic life of the world since Coke and Blackstone and Kent wrote their treatises.

An American economist has at last ventured to discuss a subject long held sacred by the legal profession, "Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of Wealth."¹

Professor Ely, the author of the two-volume work in which this topic is treated, acknowledges the influence (in his early years) of the German economists, Knies of Heidelberg and Wagner of Berlin. Indeed, it was Ely who, as long ago as 1880, when the science of economics had hardly become organized in America, came back from his sojourn as a student in Germany with new ideas about methods of economic research. His little book on French and German Socialism was one of the earliest attempts to make American readers acquainted with the European labor movement, and this was followed, after some years of investigation, by a work dealing with the American efforts to combine and organize the workers. Two other books, "Taxation in American States and Cities" and "Socialism and Social Re-

¹ Property and Contract in Their Relations to the Distribution of Wealth. By Richard T. Ely. Macmillan. 2 vols. 995 pp. \$4.

form," have had a wide reading, and Professor Ely is also the author of several textbooks of political economy. It may be fairly claimed that no economist of this generation has done more to popularize his science, in the truest sense. He was one of the founders of the American Economic Association, and the founder and director of the American Bureau of Industrial Research.

In his long academic career,—twelve years as head of the department of political economy at Johns Hopkins University and twenty-two years in a corresponding position at the University of Wisconsin,—Professor Ely has inspired and directed the labors of hundreds of students, many of whom have themselves become teachers in universities and colleges throughout the land. The influence of his German masters has thus been passed on, through his books and lectures, to a second and third academic generation in America.

While the original impulse to much of his research work and many suggestions as to method may have come from Germany, the actual content is American,—built up from the experience and observation of American life. This is clearly shown in all his writings, and in none more clearly than in the present work. Not only are the illustrations chiefly taken from American situations, but the whole work is addressed particularly to readers assumed to be familiar with business and social conditions here.

In order to bring out in bold relief the facts underlying the distribution of wealth in this country, Professor Ely institutes interesting comparisons between results attained under private and government ownership of certain public utilities. Thus, for example, he cites the Vanderbilt fortune in this country, which was made out of railroads, and compares the services to the public rendered by the first Cornelius Vanderbilt in consolidating the New York Central system with similar services rendered by an able railroad manager in Würtemberg, Germany, who was a government official. Like Commodore Vanderbilt, this German administrator unified the railroad system of Würtemberg, which, although smaller than the Vanderbilt interests, is yet considerable. (It appears that the publicly owned railroad system of Würtemberg is more than half as long as the New York Central lines at the death of Commodore Vanderbilt.) The point of the comparison is that Commodore

Vanderbilt received for his services a fortune of \$100,000,000, while the Würtemberg official had only his government salary of less than \$3000 a year, which, if capitalized, would represent about \$50,000!

Happily, the author's wide range of reading on the economic and social aspects of his subject is supplemented by a sympathetic acquaintance with the trend of court decisions, very many of which, despite the limitations already mentioned, are well-reasoned, broad, and illuminating utterances, fully deserving of the economists' respect. Professor Ely has made a distinct contribution to a science that is new in this country, and has been christened with a long and awkward name,—sociological jurisprudence. This science is not so new in Germany, France, or England, but comparatively few Americans have pursued it in those countries. It is to be hoped that Professor Ely's book will be very generally read by lawyers and judges, and that it will stimulate an interest in the work of Professor Pound and others in this field. A Wisconsin judge, after reading the proof-sheets of "Property and Contract," wrote: "It should be read by all judges, for you leave marked the highroad along which courts must travel if they are to make the law a living science that shall meet the needs of our ever-changing civilization."

The first volume opens with a discussion of distribution and its place in the system of economics. The author then proceeds to consider the fundamentals in the existing socioeconomic order, treated from the standpoint of distribution; that is to say, property public and private, its attributes and characteristics, property and the police power, and, in general, the social theory of property. A more detailed treatment of landed property is reserved for later volumes.

In the second volume Professor Ely deals particularly with the significance of contract, especially with respect to the distribution of wealth, vested interests, and personal conditions.

Our author's erudition is nowhere so brilliantly displayed as in the massing of scientific authorities in support of his thesis that private property is an institution maintained for social reasons, with limitations based on the requirements of society. It is here that the fruitage of thirty-five years of discriminating study is made available in a form that can be utilized by the laity as well as by scholars and professional men.

THE SEASON'S BOOKS

THE NEW POETRY

MANY volumes of poetry have come from our American poets during the last few months. Several are of the highest order of lyrical excellence; many reach a gratifying average of inspiration and technique; very few fall below the requirements of serious consideration. The reader will note several that experiment with words much as the Futurists and the Cubists have experimented with paint and marble. They have fallen in line with the march of Modern Art toward the primitive and have discarded intricate rhyme for unrhymed versification, or the so-called *vers libre*. The sonnet, the ballade, the chant-royal, villanelle, kyreille, rondeau, rondel, and other sophisticated lyric forms are nowhere to be found in their work. The result is a loss in pure singing, in lusciousness and sweetness, but a gain in originality, variety, and spontaneity. A few,—among them Nicholas Vachel Lindsay,—have introduced novelty of form and still kept the end-rhymes.

Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, whose notable poem, "General William Booth Enters Heaven," has received much deserved praise, both from poets and the general public, publishes a new volume of verse, "The Congo," which contains lyrics, poems of childhood, and poems of the War of 1914.¹ Mr. Lindsay decided some time ago that American readers wanted poetry-vaudeville, a quick-change, emotional mixture of classicism and ragtime,—poetry pounded into popularity to the clang of cymbals and the thump of big bass drums. Probably nothing more sensational in its daring, more haunting in its weird music than "The Congo," has ever been written by an American poet. It is a study of the negro race,—of their basic savagery, irrepressible high spirits, and the hope of their religion. Mr. Lindsay "thinks black" for the time being, and carries one backward in time to look upon the Congo wheeling in its golden track, past lost lairs of the black race, past altars where fear-mad worshippers howled in the moonlight to "Mumbo-Jumbo," their horrible and bloodthirsty god. There is magic in this poem, just as there was in "General Booth." It would hardly be true to say the same of "The Santa Fé Trail" and "The Fireman's Ball," both of which are written in a similar manner. Several of the author's earlier poems are republished in this book, among them a few that were included in the pamphlet, "Rhymes to Be Traded for Bread." Mr. Lindsay has proved that originality is for him who will vigorously lay hold on it. He is a rebel against conventional form, but he exaggerates rather than disregards meter and rhyme. For this reason, as well as for many others, it would seem that of the ultra-modern versifiers, his art will please the larger audience. The love of music is inherent in most of us, and we have accustomed our ears to the sound of end-rhymes.

In the preface to "Open Water,"² a new collection of verse by Arthur Stringer, its author gives a lengthy defense of the new unrhymed poetry. His book contains fifty poems that have no end-rhymes, and are written partly with the definite object of freeing poetry from the conventions that have been set for the poet by his artistic predecessors. The form of the New Poetry and the Poetry of Futurism is a return to the older and more primitive rhythms. Mr. Stringer calls attention to the fact that Celtic poetry, the Teutonic, and the Scandinavian is without rhyme. The Greeks in their melic poetry had no use for it, and the rhymed Latin verse did not come into use until the end of the fourth century, and not until after the Conquest did end-rhyme become general in English song. He thinks that the freedom from end-rhyme and accentual rhythm will do much to bring originality to the modern poet. He will not seek to be an echo, nor will he be shackled by the great poets of the past. The poem "Sappho's Tomb" best illustrates the color and word-beauty Mr. Stringer has wrought by following his convictions.

Also of the new cult is Mr. James Oppenheim, who vividly interprets the America of to-day in "Songs for the New Age."³ He gives us a drink of that "biting liquor, the Truth," and tears away life's shams and hypocrisies with no gentle hand. His untrammelled meters have been called "poly-rhythmical poetry." They are like ruddy, clean-limbed Greek athletes leaping over the hurdles of the stars. The author's word to those who are anxious to contribute something to modern civilization is: "Go and contribute a Man." Mr. Oppenheim's credo is partly expressed in the following stanza:

"For I have found myself:
I have ceased to be ashamed of the things I cannot
do
And have become proud of the things I can do:
I have accepted simple living and endless labor:
I have accepted peril and risk all around me,
And I have become patient with the world and
with my own faltering."

Harriet Monroe, well known as a poet and as editor of *Poetry: A Magazine of Verse*, first brought the attention of the public to Mr. Lindsay's peculiar genius. She is an exponent of the immediate movement in modern art, which she holds to be "the return to primitive sympathies between the artist and the audience which makes possible once more the assertion of primitive creative power." Her own best work has been gathered into a volume, "You and I."⁴ The turmoil,

¹ The Congo and Other Poems. By Nicholas Vachel Lindsay. Macmillan. 159 pp. \$1.25.

² Open Water. By Arthur Stringer. John Lane. 132 pp. \$1.

³ Songs for the New Age. By James Oppenheim. Century. 162 pp.

⁴ You and I. By Harriet Monroe. Macmillan. 236 pp. \$1.25.

the sharp transitions of modern life, its furious exuberance of energy, are expressed in her verse. As a whole, the collection is characterized by variety of theme, surety of technique, and amplitude of thought. One of the best is "The Turbine."

"By and Large,"¹ a new book of verse by Franklin P. Adams, the widely known "F. P. A.," director of a daily "colyum" in the New York *Tribune* known as "The Conning Tower," contains gleeful humoresques originally fashioned for the "colyum," most diverting and of amazing cleverness. They bring to the reader much laughter for their clear perspective on life's absurdities and occasionally a tear for human nature's foibles and weaknesses.

Katherine Howard, that rare mystic, author of "The Book of the Serpent," "Eve," and "Candle-flame," has written a book of delicate lyrics, "Poems,"² which greatly resemble Japanese poetry in their brevity, symbolism, and saturation of potential meaning. They penetrate the soul, flashing hither and thither seeking for that unattainable beauty which is Poesy and Truth,—and God,—and they are for us only with our concurrence. They are the inbreathing and the outbreathing of a mind that has found felicity in accepting the opposed equilibriums of life,—necessity and freedom,—as powers of equal good whose balance is perfect harmony. "River of Me," "Whenever On a Grave I Sit," and "To Charlotte" are among the best. A stanza of this last poem illustrates her style:

"In the dark night
When I lie wide awake
My thoughts grow mystic-wise,—
Great thoughts I have that make
A brightness cross my eyes
In the dark night,—
As if a light shone clear
And fine from out my brain,
Or someone held a lantern near,—
Someone who holds me dear,—
In the dark night."

Amy Lowell's poetry is a rebuke to those poets of the new school who "think that a fine idea excuses slovenly workmanship." In "Sword Blades and Poppy Seed"³ she has demonstrated the fact that intensity and emotion gain in carrying power if combined with the finest technique. She uses *vers libre*, the new revival of the old form of unrhymed cadence, in her book with great success, and has expressed very definitely the reason for the return of modern poetry to this form. Poetry to-day seeks the primitive: "The desire to 'quintessentialize,' to head-up an emotion until it burns white-hot, seems to be an integral part of the modern temper, and certainly unrhymed cadence is unique in its power of expressing this." One of the best of this collection, a poem of deep symbolism, is "The Shadow."

The compelling strength of John Masefield's genius is revealed in the memorable poem, "August, 1914," published in his latest volume of

poetry,—a poem that pierces to the depths of English patriotism and makes one realize the sorrow and gravity with which men of peace in England regarded the Empire's mobilization for the war. "Philip the King,"⁴ the title poem, presents a one-act drama, the scene of which is laid in Spain at the time of the Great Armada.

Conrad Aiken tells stories in verse. His first published book, "Earth Triumphant,"⁵ will, in spite of obvious originality, remind the reader of Masefield. His stories are graphic; his short lyrics steeped in warm earth-music. He writes: "Is not the poet he who loves earth best?" Mr. Aiken's book is one of the most pleasing of the year.

Mr. Wilfrid Wilson Gibson has had much praise for two previous books of verse, "Daily Bread" and "Fires." His present book, "Borderlands and Thoroughfares,"⁶ brings together three plays and a number of lyrics which will not disappoint his admirers. Especially successful are "The Queen's Craggs" and those lyrics that are poignant echoes of the London streets. For sheer pictorial representation he is unexcelled among the men who belong to the Masefield school.

Franklin Henry Giddings has turned aside for the moment from sociology to write "Pagan Poems,"⁷ songs of power and fate, of life and its mysteries, the reaction in a questioning mind of our age of war and transition. He finds, as do all the wise, that power dwells alone with the kind and the gentle:

"Seeking minds and deathless hearts
Faring on in comradeship,
Dauntless souls of gentleness,
Ye the only power are."

Harry Kemp, the so-called "tramp poet," has given us two books of verse of recent publication. "The Thresher's Wife,"⁸ a homey tragedy bearing a certain resemblance to the Masefield poetic storytelling, and "The Cry of Youth,"⁹ a collection of lyrics that establishes Mr. Kemp's right to a place in the foremost ranks of the "younger choir." "The Conquerors" ironically visions the great warriors of the world riding by with all their loathsome pomp. They disappear, and after them rides "Christ the Swordless, on an ass." Many of these new poems are reminiscent of Mr. Kemp's varied experiences. The poet was born at Youngstown, Ohio, in 1883. He came to New Jersey when twelve years of age and, after a short time spent in school, went to work in a factory. Shortly afterward he discovered Keats, and the tramping instinct asserted itself. He went to Australia as a cabin-boy on a bark, the *Pestallozi*, ran away in Sydney and lived as a tramp, finally escaping to China on a cattle-boat. Next he came to light in Manila, and managed to get back to the United States on a transport. Since then he has alter-

⁴ Philip the King. By John Masefield. Macmillan. 141 pages. \$1.25.

⁵ Earth Triumphant and Other Poems. By Conrad Aiken. Macmillan. 219 pp. \$1.25.

⁶ Borderlands and Thoroughfares. By Wilfrid Wilson Gibson. Macmillan. 195 pp. \$1.25.

⁷ Pagan Poems. By Franklin Henry Giddings. Macmillan. 80 pp. \$1.

⁸ The Thresher's Wife. By Harry Kemp. Albert and Chas. Boni. 32 pp. 40 cents.

⁹ The Cry of Youth. By Harry Kemp. Mitchell Kennerly. 140 pp. \$1.25.

¹ By and Large. By Franklin P. Adams. Doubleday, Page. 148 pp. \$1.

² Poems. By Katherine Howard. Sherman, French. 78 pp. \$1.25.

³ Sword Blades and Poppy Seed. By Amy Lowell. Macmillan. 246 pp. \$1.25.

nately worked, tramped, and traveled and written poetry. His prose tragedy, "Judas," was noted in the pages of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS last year.

"Radiant health!"

O kisses of sun and wind, tall fir trees, and moss-covered rocks. O boundless joy of Nature on the mountaintops—coming back at last to you! O joy of the liberated soul . . . daring all things."

This joy is what a book of verse, "The Gipsy Trail: An Anthology for Campers"¹ (and for all others who cannot go camping but find solace in Nature poetry); brings in large measure. Its subtitles are: "The Call of the Open," "The Joy of the Road," "Inland Waters," "The Sea," "The Hills," "The Road to Elfland," "Comradeship" (which includes Matthew Arnold's "Thyrsis"), "Evening," "Autumn," etc.

Songs of Sixpence. By Abbie Farwell Brown. Ill. Houghton Mifflin. 215 pp. \$1.25.

Poems Obiter. By R. E. L. Smith. The Gorham Press. 142 pp. \$1.

The Great Grey King. By Samuel Valentine Cole. Sherman French. 146 pp. \$1.

Idylls of Greece. By Howard Sutherland. Desmond Fitzgerald. 192 pp. \$1.

"Tid'apa" (What does it matter). By Gilbert Frankau. Huebsch. 42 pp. 75 cents.

Sunlight and Shadow. By Louise Kneeland. Sherman French. 93 pp. \$1.

Truth and Other Poems. By Paul Carus. Open Court Pub. Co. 61 pp. \$1.

The Shadow Babe. By Jessamine Kimball Draper. Sherman French. 61 pp. \$1.

"Tuskawanta." By George H. Babcock, Brooklyn, N. Y.

Poems. By Edward Sanford Martin. Scribner's. 215 pp. \$1.50.

Scattered Leaves. By Andreas Bard. German Literary Board. Burlington, Iowa. 62 pp. 35 cents.

PLAYS IN BOOK FORM

"MARTA OF THE LOWLANDS,"² a play in three acts, by Angel Guimerà, came to the American theaters by way of Mexico. At the time of the Galveston disaster it was produced in Mexico City as a benefit for the stricken American city by Mexico's leading actress, Virginia Fabregas, and her husband, Francisco Cardona. It has since been presented by Mrs. Fiske, Martin Harvey, and others, and has been seen in France, Italy, Germany, Servia, and South America. Its story forms the base of the opera of d'Albert entitled "Tiefeland."

Marta, a peasant girl living in the mountainous region of Catalonia, in Spain, has suffered wrong at the hands of Sebastian, a landed proprietor. Sebastian must marry a rich woman, to hold his titles intact, and he conceives the plan of marrying Marta to an ignorant shepherd, who shall be merely a cover for his own continuing guilt. The shepherd, Manelich, is brought from the mountains and Marta against her will is married to him. But the unexpected happens; Manelich loves Marta, and the girl, touched by his magnanimity and goodness, loves him in return and refuses to live a life of shame with Sebastian. The shepherd has killed wolves who came for the sheep in his mountain pasturage, and so he kills the "lowland wolf," Sebastian, when he would destroy the pure and holy love that has arisen between man and wife. Marta tells the villagers who have laughed at her shame: "I want to go with him,—with my husband,—up there where there are no people,—where there is no one to laugh at us. And when we reach the highest peak, if we still hear you laughing, we'll go higher yet; and when we come to where God is, no one will laugh at us, for there are love and forgiveness." As a whole the play symbolizes the great Christian doctrine of salvation and the remission of sin through the power of repentance and love.

Angel Guimerà first won reputation as a poet, although his fame rests upon his dramatic work. He is the first writer of Catalan dialect to bring his literature to the attention of the entire world. His plays have been translated into more than twenty languages. Wallace Gillpatrick, who has translated "Marta" from the Spanish of José Echegaray into English, writes in the preface: "He possesses the cosmic or world spirit; his plays are charged with the passions, sorrows, failures, triumphs of the whole human race."

Lord Dunsany, author of the most original books published in later years, the creator of a new and astounding mythology, offers in his "Plays" the most entertaining dramatic work of the day. Several critics esteem "The Gods of the Mountain,"—an ingenious exposition of the punishment of that crime held in horror by the Greeks, that of *hybridis*,—as the greatest of modern symbolic plays. No other writer has succeeded in producing a spell like unto that which holds the reader when he reaches the climax of this play and the Seven Jade Gods come down from their thrones in the mountains and turn into cold stone their feasting beggar impostors; or the surprise in the "Glittering Gate," when the burglar "jimmies" his way through the Gate of Heaven, only to find that there is nothing beyond but an abyss of emptiness and distant stars; or the surge of the primitive that captures our veins when King Argimenes' hungry slave-followers, forgetful of their victory over King Darniak and the plenty it implies, cry out from famished stomachs "Bones!" when a messenger announces that "the King's Dog is dead." Lord Dunsany is an Irish peer, the 18th of his line, born in 1878. He served at the front with the Coldstream Guards during the Boer War.

Mr. J. O. Francis' play, "Change,"³ was the initial play produced by the Welsh National Drama Company when it began its existence at

¹ The Gipsy Trail. Compiled by Mary D. Hopkins and Pauline Goldmark. Mitchell Kennerley. 397 pp. \$1.25 net.

² Marta of the Lowlands. By Angel Guimerà. Translated from the Spanish by Wallace Gillpatrick. Doubleday, Page. 112 pp. 75 cents.

³ Five Plays. By Lord Dunsany. Mitchell Kennerley. 116 pp. \$1.25.

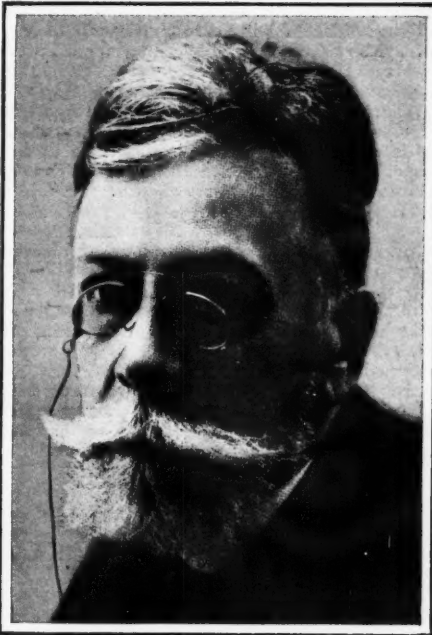
⁴ Change. By J. O. Francis. Doubleday, Page. 147 pp. 75 cents.

Cardiff in May, 1914. "It was the first instance," Mr. Francis writes, "of a performance in Wales of a Welsh play by a professional repertory company in the history of the country." This company adopted an experiment that might be profitably acted upon in other localities, that of "taking the drama to people, where they cannot get to the drama." It is the intention of the directors to travel about, caravan fashion, with their plays, as the mystery plays and pageants traveled about in the fifteenth century. Mr. Montrose Moses has admirably summarized the action of "Change" in his preface to the play: "Change" is national in so far as it represents truthfully the industrial situation confronting the men of South Wales now and to-morrow. It depicts with understanding and sympathy the religious, social, and economic problems likely to confront the inhabitants of a small Welsh town dependent upon the coal and iron industries for existence. In its labor disputes, in its riots, in its expression of political thought it reflects the whole trend of Welsh sentiment and development for two generations." "Change" simply states in a moving drama what Tennyson put into a poetic line,— "The old order changeth for the new."

Mr. Francis was the winner of the Lord Howard de Walden prize competition. He was born in Merthyr Tydfil, South Wales, in 1882.

Three plays by John Galsworthy,—*"The Mob," "The Fugitive,"* and *"The Pigeon,"*—are issued in one volume by Charles Scribner's Sons.¹ Their content has been previously noted in the REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

"Rada," a Christmas tragedy of the Balkans, by Alfred Noyes, brings the horrors of war a



ANGEL GUIMERÀ, THE SPANISH POET AND PLAY-WRIGHT, WHOSE PLAYS HAVE BEEN TRANSLATED INTO MORE THAN TWENTY LANGUAGES



J. O. FRANCIS, THE AUTHOR OF "CHANGE"

¹ Plays. By John Galsworthy. Scribner's. 250 pp. \$1.35.

² *Rada*. By Alfred Noyes. Frederick Stokes. 31 pp. 60 cents.

little nearer to the minds of men in a moving drama that is more eloquent in its simplicity than even the fervent stanzas of *"The Winepress."* The scene is Christmas Eve in the cottage of the village doctor in a little hamlet in the Balkan war zone. *Rada*, the wife, whose husband has been recently killed, has two soldiers of the enemy quartered upon her. She has hidden her twelve-year-old daughter *Subka* in an inner room. The two soldiers are not bad fellows at heart; they eat the Christmas feast that had been provided for the family, but they do not touch the women. Outside the soldiers riot and pillage. One of the soldiers in the house draws the curtain over the cottage window, but too late. The drunken men outside have caught sight of the women, the only two left in the village. They break in the door and demand them. *Rada* in despair shoots the child and herself. As the revolver shots ring out, the bugle calls the men away to resist the night attack of the enemy, and the artillery booms in the distance. Noyes' great art is at its best in this play. There is the constant suggestion that this incident is not an isolated instance of horror, but the every-day texture or happening of war. A tragical chorus is provided by the babbling of *Nanko*, a half-witted schoolmaster, who reiterates the ancient and outworn arguments of war and of the survival of the fittest.

If the habit of buying and reading plays were more common in this country the result would be a corresponding gain in literary taste. The public is too prone to buy the latest novel and wait for the local lecture bureau to introduce the latest play through the medium of a diluted "reading." The strong social reactions of the day are revealed

mainly through the serious efforts of the playwrights. Take, for instance, the Comedy of Manners, "Mary Goes First,"¹ by that veteran artificer of plays, Henry Arthur Jones. Here is a bright, humorous satire on social climbers, most deliciously whiffing concerned with the war of two women over social precedence,—a play most entertaining in its characterization and instructive in its technique. It is dedicated to Miss Marie Tempest, who is at present playing in the title rôle in New York.

Mr. J. M. Barrie publishes four of his short plays in a single volume: "Pantaloen," "The Twelve-Pound Look," "Rosalind," and "The Will."² These one-act plays are fairly familiar to those who have the privilege of attending the theater. To those who have not this opportunity they will bring agreeable and profitable half-hours. The *Rosalind* who tired of a perpetual Forest of Arden environment, and ran away to a seaside cottage and pretended to be her own mother will endure a lengthy acquaintance. Bar-

rie never in one sense creates a character; he is himself for the time being all of them,—the *Peter Pan* of playwrights, pretending whimsical adventures to us from his "Never-Never Land" of love and great understanding.

"Orthodoxy,"³ by Nina Wilcox Putnam, the wife of Robert Faulkner Putnam, is a delicious trifle of a play that satirically exposes the actual thoughts of people who attend a certain small church on a Sunday morning. The unwritten emphasis of the play is this: that what we *think*, not what we say, really matters, for in the end we are what our thoughts have made us. "Orthodoxy" is a strong plea for integrity of thought as well as of speech.

"The Little King,"⁴ by Witter Bynner, tells a pathetic story of the son of Marie Antoinette, his cruel imprisonment, the canary he loved, and his noble refusal to escape and permit a substitute to be walled up to suffer a living death. It is a strong and moving drama.

TWO NATURE BOOKS

IT is seldom that one finds a book so apparently sectional with as universal an appeal as a book of modest Nature jottings, "Autumn Notes in Iowa,"⁵ by Selden Lincoln Whitcomb. Not alone will those who have at some time in their lives lived in Iowa, be stirred by this book of memories of "flower and bird loved in childhood," for so widely diffused are our native flora and fauna that Nature-lovers anywhere in the United States or Canada will find on some page a reminder of that which to them will be familiar and delightful. The chapters trace the progress of September, October, and November in Iowa, and while the material is mostly concerned with flowers and plants there is much of human interest. One sees farmers' wagons rattling to town, the county fairs with their encampments of gipsies, college boys singing on moonlight evenings, wild geese moving southward through the purple haze of the evening skies, hears their honking, and beneath it the dry rustle among the leaves of the cool autumn wind. Every sentence is keyed to convey the sense-impression of the brilliant but melancholy decline of the year. One may gather a lesson from this diary of serenity,—that we may escape our subjective sorrows at will and find renewing in the objectiveness of Nature's most fa-

miliar scene; and thus make once again our pact with the "primitive," even though it be only by the taste of a "puckery" persimmon or by the flash of a dandelion in the lane.

"The Human Side of Plants,"⁶ by Royal Dixon, a well-known naturalist, tells us much about the nature and habits of plants that we have been slow to realize, namely, that they are very complex, and, with certain differences, created like unto ourselves with human attributes and passions. Plants eat, smell, rest, sleep, steal, defend themselves, swim, navigate the air, fish, keep servants, kidnap, foretell the weather, and carry life insurance. Of their mentality and spirituality, Mr. Dixon writes: "If a dividing line cannot be drawn between the lower forms of plant and animal life, how can an intelligence be assigned to the one in its higher forms without a similar power being attributed to the other" . . . "The old Greeks and Romans gave to trees and plants the spirits of gods and men; and many in more modern times have lavishly bestowed souls upon plants, as did Adamson, Bonnet, Hedwig, and Edward Smith. Martius and Fechner in Germany defended these views, and were very liberal in their supply of souls to plants." The material of this book is presented in a spirit of tenderness and reverence, with the hope that it may instill into our minds respect for the Divine Source of all life. As a book of Nature-study for the growing boy or girl, as a book of wonder for the adult, it cannot be too highly praised or recommended.

¹ *Mary Goes First*. By Henry Arthur Jones. Doubleday. Page. 162 pp. 75 cents.

² *Half-Hours*. By J. M. Barrie. Scribner's. 207 pp. \$1.25.

³ *Orthodoxy*. By Nina Wilcox Putnam. Mitchell Kennerley. 49 pp. 60 cents.

⁴ *The Little King*. By Witter Bynner. Mitchell Kennerley. 76 pp. 60 cents.

⁵ *Autumn Notes in Iowa*. By Selden Lincoln Whitcomb. Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Ia. 192 pp.

⁶ *The Human Side of Plants*. By Royal Dixon. Ill. in color. Stokes. 201 pp. \$1.40.

MUSIC AND PAINTING

THE rapidly growing literature about music and musicians is greatly and beautifully enriched by the autobiography of Mme. Lilli Lehmann, which, originally published in German last year, has just appeared in a good English translation by Alice Benedict Seligman under the happily worded title, "My Path Through Life."

Born in 1848, of parents who were opera singers, Lilli Lehmann was trained from infancy for the operatic stage, and made her first appearance when only fourteen, singing in the chorus of a little private theater in Prague, where, on October 20, 1865, at the National Theater, she sang the part of the first boy in "The Magic Flute." Between that date and her retirement from the stage forty-five years later she acquired and sang the enormous, perhaps unprecedented, repertory of 150 parts in 114 different operas. For long years she was an indefatigable worker in the cause of Wagner. Hers was the first voice heard at the first great festival at Bayreuth in 1876, when the *Nibelungen Ring* had its initial presentation, when she sang the part of the first Rhine Maiden in *Das Rheingold*. At the same festival she impersonated one of the Valkyries in *Die Walküre*, and sang the music of the Forest Bird in *Siegfried*. Later on, of course, she became famous for her interpretations of all the Wagner heroines. She toured America no less than nine times, singing in both opera and concert, and became as well known and as great a public favorite here as in the musical capitals of Europe.

To the lover of good music a new book about music by Lawrence Gilman is welcome whenever it comes, not alone because Mr. Gilman invariably has something to say that is worthy of attention, and says it gracefully, but no less because he is splendidly and encouragingly free from those prejudices of ultra-conservatism which hold most music critics fast in the slough of stagnation and make them belittlers and contemnors of the new simply because it is new. It is of new things, the new elements and new forces in music, the new men of the present time, that Mr. Gilman writes in "Nature in Music and Other Studies in the Tone-Poetry of To-Day."¹ He is never afraid to praise new music when he deems it praiseworthy; neither is he ashamed to give you his reasons for praising it. He discourses entertainingly and delightfully,—revealingly, because with sympathy and insight,—of such moderns as MacDowell, Richard Strauss, Debussy, Vincent d'Indy, Loeffler, Montemizzi. And there is a welcome appraisal of Grieg's place in music, accounting him a master by reason of his individuality, not his nationalism. Repetitious promulgation of the doctrine of nationalism in music has worked injury to the fame of other composers also besides Grieg.

Romain Rolland, the creator of "Jean-Christophe," who has won world-wide fame through his colossal novel in ten volumes devoted to the life of that musical hero, was the foremost musical critic and historian of Paris, and was recognized as such, for many years before he became a

novelist. Thanks to the success of "Jean-Christophe" in England and America, we now have for the first time a volume of essays by him, Englished by Mary Blaiklock and entitled "Musicians of To-Day."² The original version of this volume was published in Paris six years ago. But no matter for that. It is a collection of papers,—keenly critical, but glowing, fervent, and frequently rhapsodical,—of absorbing interest and quite unusual value. They show a remarkably close acquaintance with the lives as well as the works of the musicians of whom they treat, who are, namely: Berlioz, Wagner, Saint-Saëns, Vincent d'Indy, Richard Strauss, Hugo Wolf, Don Lorenzo Perosi, and Claude Debussy. There are also an essay on French and German Music and a Sketch of the Musical Movement in Paris since 1870, which the author calls "The Awakening," and which he has brought down to date for this English translation. M. Rolland was a good Wagnerite, a lover of German music and its apostle to his countrymen.

In "Essentials in Music History,"³ Thomas Tapper and Percy Goetschius, well-known instructors in New York institutions, have produced a concise and useful summary of the development of music. Beginning with the antiquities of music, a clear outline is provided of what is known of the music of ancient nations and primitive peoples, and this is followed by a simple and naturally consecutive account of the rise and progress of artistic music from the Old French School, the earliest school of contrapuntal art, to the present era; a brief final chapter being devoted to music in America. A very serviceable bibliography of the whole subject, under the heading "The Essentials of a Music Library," is contributed by Frank H. Marling. There are many illustrations which are helpful.

A well printed and illustrated volume on "The Art of the Low Countries,"⁴ by Wilhelm R. Valentiner, a member of the staff of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and the editor of *Art in America* (translated from the German by Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer), comprises a group of studies intended primarily for the connoisseur and the student, but no means devoid of interest for "the general reader" who cares for pictures. Particularly interesting to such will be chapters that treat in extenso of the paintings by Rubens and by Van Dyck that are now owned in America. Rembrandt's art is also discussed in several chapters, and some of his pictures that are owned here are considered. The whole book, based upon recent investigations and the newest canons of art criticism, deals with the primitive painters of Holland, and the later masters of the Low Countries, in authoritative fashion, and throws new light on many of the treasures of American museums and private galleries. An appendix contains lists as full and complete as possible of the masterpieces of the Dutch and Flemish "primitives" and of the works by Rembrandt, Rubens, and Van Dyck now in the public and private collections of this country.

¹ My Path Through Life. By Lilli Lehmann. Translated by Alice Benedict Seligman. Putnam. 510 pp. \$3.50.

² Nature in Music and Other Studies in the Tone-Poetry of To-Day. By Lawrence Gilman. Lane. 220 pp. \$1.25.

³ Musicians of To-Day. By Romain Rolland. Holt. \$1.25.

⁴ Essentials in Music History. By Thomas Tapper and Percy Goetschius. Scribners. 365 pp., ill. \$2.

⁵ The Art of the Low Countries. By W. R. Valentiner. Doubleday, Page. 251 pp., ill. \$2.50.

CLASSIFIED LISTS OF NEW PUBLICATIONS

HISTORY

The French Revolution in San Domingo. By T. Lothrop Stoddard. Houghton Mifflin Company. 410 pp. \$2.

Readers of this REVIEW will remember a remarkably able article which appeared in the number for last June, entitled "Santo Domingo: Our Unruly Ward," from the pen of Mr. T. Lothrop Stoddard. Mr. Stoddard's studies of international politics are thorough and valuable, as further shown in more recent articles in this REVIEW on Greece and Italy. He was the author, also, of our article on the mobilization of European armies, in the September number. Mr. Stoddard is a young writer who has recently completed his work as a post-graduate student at Harvard, and his first book now appears, under the title "The French Revolution in San Domingo." Toussaint l'Ouverture has been a picturesque and interesting figure, best known to Americans by reason of a lecture that Wendell Phillips used to deliver in every part of the country. But no one has ever given us the real history of the race struggle in San Domingo that was associated with the political cataclysm in France in 1789 and the following years. Mr. Stoddard's book is a most remarkable example of careful investigation and graphic writing. A more valuable contribution to the history of the conflict of races and to the literature of the checkered fortunes of modern colonial empire has not been written in a long time.

The Philippines Past and Present. By Dean C. Worcester. Macmillan. 2 Vols. 1024 pp., ill. \$6.

This work was reviewed at length in our number for April, 1914. The revised edition contains a prefatory chapter on "One Year of the 'New Era'" (government of the islands under the Wilson Administration).

Westminster Abbey: Its Architecture, History and Monuments. By Helen Marshall Pratt. Duffield. 2 Vols. 865 pp., ill. \$4.50.

A painstaking work, by the author of "The Cathedral Churches of England."

Russian Expansion on the Pacific 1641-1850. By F. A. Golder. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 368 pp., ill. \$5.

The only authoritative study of this subject published in any language during the past century and a half.

The Story of Dartmouth. By Wilder D. Quint. Little, Brown. 285 pp., ill. \$2.

An interesting account of the development of the college. Illustrations are supplied by John A. Seaford.

Essays Political and Historical. By Charlesmange Tower. Lippincott. 306 pp. \$1.50.

A volume of essays by our former Ambassador to Russia and to Germany. The United States as a world power is the central theme.

Insurgent Mexico. By John Reed. Appleton. 326 pp. \$1.50.

Vivid pictures of the Mexican people in war and peace.

How to Teach American History. By John W. Wayland. Macmillan. 349 pp. \$1.10.

A handbook for teachers and students, designed especially as a text-book in teachers' training schools.

Americans and the Britons. By Frederick C. de Sumichrast. Appleton. 369 pp. \$1.75.

An appreciation of the American democracy by a former professor at Harvard who is now a resident of England.

The Story of Our Navy. By William O. Stevens. Harpers. 316 pp., ill. \$1.50.

An account of the growth of the American navy, written by one of the professors at the Naval Academy.

The Treasure Finders. By Oliver Clay. Duffield. 266 pp., ill. \$1.25.

Stories of the men who found America,—French, Spanish, English, Dutch, and Norse explorers.

Mexican Archaeology. By Thomas A. Joyce. Putnam. 384 pp., ill. \$4.

A good illustrated summary of our present knowledge concerning the life and culture of the Mexican and Maya peoples of pre-Spanish America, prepared by a member of the British Museum staff.

The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation in Continental Europe. By Edward Maslin Hulme. Century. 589 pp. \$2.50.

A well-written treatment of this important period in European history, for which Professor Burr, of Cornell, is sponsor.

Bulfinch's Mythology. By Thomas Bulfinch. Crowell. 912 pp., ill. \$1.50.

"The Age of Fable," "The Age of Chivalry," and "Legends of Charlemagne," complete in one volume.

Famous Land Fights. By A. Hillard Atteridge. Little, Brown. 329 pp., ill. \$2.

A popular sketch* of the development of land fighting from the early tribal warfare to our own day. Typical battles have been selected as examples of the varying methods of fighting.

The Political and Sectional Influence of the Public Lands 1828-1842. By Raynor G. Wellington. Riverside Press. 131 pp. \$1.

A treatise showing how the public lands, owing to the growth of sections having conflicting economic interests, became a subject for political bargainings and sectional alliances.

Constantine the Great and Christianity. By

Christopher Bush Coleman. New York: The Columbia University Press. 258 pp. \$2.

A discussion of the historic facts in Constantine's career and also of what the author calls "the historic ghost of Constantine," i.e., the legendary and the spurious elements in the record of his life that has come down to us.

The New Map of Europe. By Herbert Adams Gibbons. Century. 412 pp. \$2.

In a summary of the political history of Europe for the past ten years the author, for some years Professor of History at Robert College, Constantinople, and correspondent of the *New York Herald* in the Near East, maintains that the foreign policies of England, France, Russia, Austria and Germany have made the present war inevitable. In this volume he essays to show the processes by which these foreign policies brought on the conflict.

Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy. By Tomaso Tittoni. Translated by Baron Bernardo Quaranta di San Severino. London: Smith, Elder & Company. 334 pp.

A selection from the speeches of Senator Tomaso Tittoni while he was Italy's Foreign Minister. These speeches show the foundations of Italy's foreign policy to have been "to maintain and uphold the Triple Alliance, and to uphold and consolidate our sincere friendship with England and France." The second half of the book is devoted to the Italian colonial administration, with particular reference to emigration.

A Revelation of the Chinese Revolution. By John J. Mullooney. Revell. 142 pp., ill., 75 cents.

The writer of this volume, who has spent several years in China, holds that the real leader of the recent Chinese revolution was General Hwang Hsing. The idea is to show how men of this stamp have been more symptomatic of the Chinese state of mind and receptiveness to modern ideas than the President, Yuan Shih-kai, whom Mr. Mullooney calls a despot and dictator.

BOOKS CALLED OUT BY THE WAR

The World War. By Elbert Francis Baldwin. Macmillan. 267 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Baldwin, an accomplished and experienced member of the *Outlook's* editorial staff, was in Europe at the outbreak of the war. All save the final chapter of the present volume was written in Europe and interprets the varied points of view of the nations engaged in the conflict.

Britain as Germany's Vassal. By Friedrich von Bernhardt. Translated by J. Ellis Barker. Doran. 256 pp. \$1.

This book appeared one year later than "Germany and the Next War," Bernhardt's best-known book, but by many students of his works is regarded as the more important volume of the two. It makes definite application of the doctrines developed in the author's earlier treatise, with special reference to the position of England as a world power and hated rival of Germany. Those who are eager to find the essence of the German militarist prophet's theories will find it embodied here in its extreme form.

Deutschland Uber Alles, or Germany Speaks. Compiled by John Jay Chapman. 102 pp. 75 cents.

Rightly believing that a study of the ephemeral literature of the period is essential to an understanding of the underlying causes of the war, Mr. Chapman has made a collection of the utterances of representative Germans,—statesmen, military leaders, scholars, and poets,—in defense of the war policies of the Fatherland.

The Real "Truth About Germany" from the English Point of View. By Douglas Sladen. With an appendix Great Britain and the War. By A. Maurice Low. Putnam. 272 pp. \$1.

This is an analysis and a refutation, from the English point of view, of the pamphlet "The Truth About Germany," recently issued by representative German citizens. The author, Douglas Sladen, has reprinted the text of the German pamphlet in ordinary type, and at places where he controverts statements, he has inserted in black face type his own comments.

Builder and Blunderer: A Study of Emperor Wilhelm's Character and Foreign Policy. By George Saunders. Dutton. 205 pp. \$1.

This is a shrewd and well-informed analysis of the German Kaiser's career. The author has had unusual opportunities to study the personality and policies of the Emperor since he ascended the throne. Mr. Saunders was the Berlin correspondent of the *Morning Post* in the years 1888-1897 and of the *London Times* in 1897-1908. His point of view is, of course, distinctly British, yet he has written an entertaining and, on the whole, a reasonable appraisal of William II.

BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

The Kaiser: A Book About the Most Interesting Man in Europe. Edited by Asa Don Dickinson. Doubleday, Page. 205 pp., ill. \$2.

Various aspects of the German Emperor's career treated by men who have given special study to the topics of which they write.

The War Lord. Compiled by J. M. Kennedy. Duffield. 95 pp. 50 cents.

A selection from the speeches, letters, and telegrams of Emperor William II.

The Story-Life of Napoleon. By Wayne Whipple. Century. 606 pp., ill. \$2.40.

Nine hundred short stories from a great variety of sources reconciled and fitted together in a complete and continuous biography.

The Life of Henry II. By L. F. Salzmann. Houghton Mifflin. 267 pp., ill. \$2.50.

The Life of Henry VII. By W. M. Gladys Temperley. Houghton Mifflin. 453 pp., ill. \$2.50.

Letters of Fyodor Michailovitch Dostoevsky to His Family and Friends. Translated by Ethel Colburn Mayne. Macmillan. 344 pp., ill. \$2.

The first English translation of the letters of the great Russian novelist, who wrote "Crime and Punishment."

Emile Verhaeren. By Stefan Zweig. Houghton Mifflin. 274 pp., ill. \$2.

A sympathetic study of the life and work of Belgium's greatest living poet by one of his contemporaries, an Austrian poet.

"Billy" Sunday: The Man and His Message.

By William T. Ellis. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company. 432 pp., ill. \$1.50.

A character sketch of one of the most conspicuous religious leaders of the day in America.

The Famous Mather Byles 1707-1788. By Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton. Boston: W. A. Butterfield. 258 pp., ill. \$2.

The first complete biography of the noted Boston Tory preacher, poet, and wit. Dr. Byles was one of the leaders of the Boston faction which stoutly opposed the Revolution.

Days of My Years. By Sir Melville L. Macnaghten. Longmans, Green. 300 pp. \$3.50.

Interesting reminiscences by the late chief detective of Scotland Yard.

Giosue Carducci. By Orlo Williams. Houghton Mifflin. 123 pp. 75 cents.

A brief sketch of the Italian poet in the series of "Modern Biographies."

Nat Goodwin's Book. By Nat C. Goodwin. Badger. 366 pp., ill. \$3.

Personal and intimate recollections of stage celebrities who have entertained American audiences during the past forty years.

Little Women Letters from the House of Alcott. Selected by Jessie Bonstelle and Marian De Forest. Little, Brown. 197 pp., ill. \$1.25.

Letters revealing the childhood and home life of the Alcott family.

Heroines of History. By Frank M. Bristol. New York: The Abingdon Press. 289 pp. \$1.

Heroines of mythology, of Shakespeare, and of the Bible.

More Than Conquerors. By Ariadne Gilbert. Century. 423 pp., ill. \$1.25.

A series of biographical sketches written for young people and originally published in *St. Nicholas*. Among the subjects are Lincoln, Charles Lamb, Walter Scott, Emerson, Beethoven, Pasteur, Phillips Brooks, and Robert Louis Stevenson.

Famous Affinities of History. By Lyndon Orr. Harpers. 368 pp., ill. \$2.

The love stories of Anthony and Cleopatra, Abelard and Heloise, Queen Elizabeth and Leicester, Mary Queen of Scots and Bothwell, and other paired celebrities whose relations have figured on history's page.

Samuel F. B. Morse: His Letters and Journals. Edited by Edward Lind Morse. Houghton Mifflin. 2 Vols. 988 pp., ill. \$7.50.

The first adequate biography of the inventor of the electric telegraph. The first volume treats of Morse's art studies in America and Europe and his career as a painter; the second describes in detail his work on the telegraph.

Charles Stewart Parnell: A Memoir. By John Howard Parnell. Holt. 312 pp. \$3.

This memoir of the great Home Ruler by his brother is especially rich in details of Parnell's early life, education, and home life.

Oscar Wilde and Myself. By Lord Alfred Douglas. Duffield. 306 pp., ill. \$2.50.

An attempt to state the true nature and circumstances of the friendship between Wilde and the Marquis of Queensberry's son.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

A Wanderer in Venice. By E. V. Lucas. Macmillan. 322 pp., ill. \$1.75.

Pleasing descriptions of the architectural features and landmarks,—as well as water-marks,—of Venice, illustrated with drawings by Harry Morley and reproductions of paintings.

The Lower Amazon. By Algot Lange. With an Introduction by Frederick S. Dellinbaugh. Putnam. 468 pp., ill. \$2.50.

"A narrative of explorations in the little-known regions of the State of Pará, on the lower Amazon, with a record of archæological excavations on Marajó Island at the mouth of the Amazon River, and observations on the general resources of the country," by a former official of the Brazilian Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Seven Years on the Pacific Slope. By Mrs. Hugh Fraser and Hugh Crawford Fraser. Dodd, Mead. 391 pp., ill. \$3.

A vivid account of life in the extreme north-western corner of Washington State,—a bit of the surviving frontier.

Abroad at Home. By Julian Street. Century. 517 pp., ill. \$2.50.

Julian Street, writer, and Wallace Morgan, artist, make the trip from New York to San Francisco and back, stopping at many of the principal cities and getting frequent glimpses of life outside the cities. The result is a moving picture of American civilization in its human and humorous aspects. Fifty clever drawings are contributed to the volume by Mr. Morgan.

The East I Know. By Paul Claudel. Translated by Teresa Frances and William Rose Benet. Yale University Press. 199 pp. \$1.25.

A series of vivid word pictures of life in the Far East by a poet who is, at the same time, a very keen observer. This is a translation of M. Claudel's "La Connaissance de l'Est."

ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY

The Juvenile Court and the Community. By Thomas D. Eliot. Macmillan. 234 pp. \$1.25.

An authoritative account of the achievements of the juvenile court, with conclusions as to its success.

Safeguards for City Youth at Work and at Play. By Louise de Koven Bowen. Macmillan. 241 pp. \$1.50.

An exposition of the spirit, methods, and purpose of the Juvenile Protective Association of

Chicago. Miss Jane Addams has written a preface for the volume.

The World's Social Evil. By William Burgess. Chicago: Saul Brothers. 401 pp. \$1.50.

An historical review and study of the various problems related to the subject. Dr. Graham Taylor writes a foreword and a supplementary chapter on "A Constructive Policy" is contributed by Judge Olson, of Chicago.

The Old World in the New. By Edward Alsworth Ross. Century. 327 pp., ill. \$2.40.

A vivid presentation of our immigration in its racial, social, political, and economic aspects.

American Labor Unions. By Helen Marot Holt. 275 pp. \$1.25.

A clear statement, from the inside, of the policies and principles of unionism. The author is a member of a union and evidently knows her subject.

The Girl and Her Chance. By Harriet McDoual Daniels. 95 pp. 50 cents.

A study of conditions surrounding the young girl between fourteen and eighteen years of age in New York City.

The Cause of Business Depression. By Hugo Bilgram and Louis Edward Levy. Lippincott. 531 pp. \$2.

The Tariff. By Lee Francis Lybarger. Chicago: The Platform. 399 pp., ill. \$1.50.

"What It Is; How It Works; Whom It Benefits."

The Whole Truth About the Tariff. By George L. Bolen. Battle Creek, Mich: Phœnix Publishing Company. 307 pp. 50 cents.

Besides the tariff discussion this pamphlet contains a chapter on the first year's achievements of the Wilson Administration.

International Trade and Exchange. By Harry G. Brown. Macmillan. 197 pp. \$1.50.

In this volume an instructor in political economy at Yale University discusses the theory of international and intranational trade, with due consideration of the exchange mechanism of such trade and with some reference to the effects of governmental interferences.

The Principles of Taxation. By Hastings Lyon. Houghton Mifflin. 133 pp. 75 cents.

A compact treatise on American taxation, written by the counsel of the Investment Bankers' Association.

Taxation in Washington. Seattle: University of Washington. 302 pp. 50 cents.

Papers and discussions of a State Tax Conference held at the University of Washington in May, 1914.

Your Pay Envelope. By John R. Meader. New York: The Devin-Adair Company. 221 pp. \$1.

A proposed non-socialistic solution of the labor problem.

Biology and Social Problems. By George Howard Parker. Houghton Mifflin. 130 pp., ill. \$1.10.

Lectures delivered at Amherst College as a memorial to Dr. William Brewster Clark, a graduate of the college.

Beauty for Ashes. By Albion Fellows Bacon. Dodd, Mead. 360 pp., ill. \$1.50.

The graphic story of how one woman found disgraceful slum conditions existing in small cities and towns and made a fight that resulted in placing her State, Indiana, at the head of the list in the matter of building regulations.

Social Heredity and Social Evolution. By Herbert William Conn. New York: The Abingdon Press. 348 pp. \$1.50.

A book intended by the author to show that the laws of evolution in animals and plants apply to human evolution up to a certain point, beyond which man has been under distinct laws of his own,—in other words, "social heredity."

Honest Business. By Amos Kidder Fiske. Putnam. 333 pp. \$1.25.

Essays by the editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce* on the conditions underlying business organization and the principles controlling business operations.

OTHER TIMELY BOOKS

Japan to America. Edited by Naoichi Masaoka. Putnam. 235 pp. \$1.25.

A symposium of informational essays illuminatingly written on the present conditions in Japan, the ideals and policies of Japanese leaders, and the relation of the Island Empire to the United States. The volume is issued under the auspices of the Japan Society of America, and has been edited by Professor Masaoka, who has gathered together the writings of many representative Japanese.

Uncle Sam's Modern Miracles. By William Atherton DuPuy. Stokes. 268 pp., ill. \$1.25.

A record of the big things the United States Government is doing for its citizens, for commerce and trade generally, and for the world. Some of the chapter headings indicate the scope: Conquering Contagion; Awakening the Filipino; Revealing Weather Secrets; Transforming Western Deserts; Taking the Census; Shackling the Mississippi, etc.

A Doctor's View-point. By John B. Huber. New York: Gazette Publishing Company. 164 pp. \$1.

Most doctors are human,—except when writing for publication; then their human attributes seem to shrivel up and disappear. This is not true, however, of the published writings of Dr. John B. Huber, whose abounding humanness can no more be restrained by cold type than by any other form of strait-jacket. His little book of essays,—"A Doctor's View-point,"—is human from cover to cover, dealing with the problems of everyday living as the physician "meets up" with them. Needless to say, such writing makes easy reading and will make an optimist of any man who will let his common sense have free play. The initial essay of the book, "A Twentieth Century Epic," is a thrilling account of the latter-day progress of preventive medicine which Dr. Huber originally contributed to this REVIEW.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—HOW SOUND SECURITIES ARE BEHAVING

IN the last month prices and values of sound American securities have been tested as perhaps never before. The gradual resumption of normal trading in stocks and bonds was described in the December issue of this magazine, but since its publication the restoration of normal trading has gone much further. Even early in December most of the country's stock exchanges had reopened for unrestricted operations, and only upon the few great markets where European holders of American securities might be expected to liquidate was there any restraint still in force upon the full operation of the immutable laws of supply and demand. On December 12 the New York Stock Exchange resumed dealing in stocks.

Opening of the New York Stock Exchange

One man has described the step-by-step resumption of unrestricted business on the New York Stock Exchange as similar to the first five-minute walk of a convalescent. Most important of the limitations that were placed upon the freedom of what a great economist has called the "higgling of the market" was the establishment of minimum prices under the cognizance and arrangement of a committee. Yet the fact of supreme importance is that the first few weeks of business brought no war-impelled torrent of sales. Minimum prices were in many cases not reached at all, and if there had been a flood of sales all prices would naturally have been quickly driven to the minimum and kept there. Instead there was trading in moderate volume, entire calmness, and a general upward trend in prices.

The New York Exchange was not opened for all stocks at once. A large number of shares, including those extensively held in Europe, were still kept in the Stock Exchange Clearing House, where clerks merely received bids and offers from brokers and notified brokers when the bids and offers came near enough together to warrant a transaction. In other words, on the day the Exchange permitted open trading to its members in a limited number of stocks on its floor, many other stocks were still withheld from that privilege. But such a demand de-

veloped for even the restricted stocks that the cumbrous Clearing House machinery almost broke down, and on the following day all stocks were restored to open floor trading.

Another step was the dissolution of the Committee of Five, which since the Exchange closed on July 30, had possessed arbitrary power. The same men were formed into another committee to supervise minimum prices. But while minimum prices were still in effect well along in December, it was significant that no really severe declines had yet taken place even in the stocks most extensively held abroad.

Steadiness of Prices

In the September issue of this REVIEW it was stated: "Owners of sound securities have no occasion to be alarmed. . . . Many new projects will be abandoned or halted from lack of European capital, but bonds of American municipalities or mortgage bonds of seasoned American corporations will, with few exceptions, suffer no loss in intrinsic value because they rest upon the earning power of basic industries."

Clearly this view has been substantiated by events of the last three months, and especially by the opening of the stock and bond markets. When the war started fear was expressed that destruction of capital, together with the raising of great European war loans, would result in such a dumping of foreign holdings of American securities as to bring about chaos. Fearing such a possibility the Stock Exchange closed for several months. But the passing of time has greatly altered the first gloomy view, and now authorities agree that all danger of bursting dams has either been done away with or provided for. Indeed, one financial house has estimated that between August 1 and December 1, during nearly all of which period the Stock Exchange remained closed, nearly \$750,000,000 of securities were taken up by American investors and withdrawn from the market.

It is safe to say that the strength of bond and stock prices during the weeks that exchanges were gradually opening has been a surprise to thousands of investors,—even

if a pleasant surprise. There is no way of being so gratified by an agreeable outcome as to expect something quite different. But many people are puzzled, having been led to expect steadily falling prices.

The important fact to remember is that bond and stock prices alike had fallen very low before the exchanges closed. Markets the world over had for perhaps two years been "discounting" the coming war, or at least expressing fear that the unsettled political conditions which followed the two Balkan wars might not be satisfactorily settled. Taking a group of the highest grade railroad bonds, it may be noted that, while they were higher early in December than they had been on June 30, they still averaged five points below the highest of 1914 and seven points below the highest level of 1913. Moreover, great numbers of bonds have recently been but a trifle above the lowest in the 1907 panic, and indeed before the war started many comparisons were made between prices at that time with those of 1907 and showing but little variation. If the same group of bonds before referred to is again considered it will be found that an average decline of no less than fifteen points since 1905 has been recorded. Yet all of these bonds are as safe as anything human can be. They are the Atchison general 4's, Louisville & Nashville unified 4's, Northern Pacific prior lien 4's, Reading general 4's, and Union Pacific land grant 4's.

Most investors are far too much inclined to follow market prices and judge the value of their holdings accordingly. The closing of the markets, the grave doubts that went with such action, and the groundlessness of those doubts have again emphasized the fact that quotations are too often mistaken for values. In reality the real principal value of a good bond does not fluctuate at all any more than a mortgage. If the issuing corporation is able to redeem the bond when it comes due the obligation is always worth par, just as a mortgage is worth par if the debtor is able to pay it off. The only thing that really happens to a good bond is that the interest rate rises or falls. Bonds should be quoted not in dollars or in per cent. of face value, but to yield a rate of interest. Indeed, in the last few years certain classes of bonds, railroad-equipment trust certificates, have come to be quoted almost solely in terms of a rate of interest. The investor buys a 4½ or a 5 per cent., as the case may be.

The long closing of the Stock Exchange has had one good effect, namely, to reduce

the amount of speculation. Speculation may not necessarily be a bad thing for a country, but it is often a bad thing for the individual investor. Too many buyers of securities, even those who purchase bonds, are more anxious to be able to sell at a profit later than to make their money work steadily for them at a fair rate of interest. But when the Stock Exchange closed, brokers at once set to work to persuade their customers to take up securities which had been bought on margin, that is, on part payment. Brokers themselves were being urged by their banks to pay off loans, and this they have been able to do to an enormous extent by making their customers pay up. The result has been that the Stock Exchange has opened with brokers in a strong position and with few speculative commitments.

Business on a Cash Basis

Moreover, as business is resumed it is being done almost entirely on a cash basis, or nearly so. This will stimulate the spirit of investment and discourage the tendency to speculate. Indeed, the whole trend of recent events has been to encourage the purchase of securities which are able to earn and pay steady returns, rather than those whose only appeal is directed dangerously close to the gambling instinct. The recent strength of municipal bonds and the quick sale of such obviously high-grade securities as the Canadian Pacific equipment trust certificates are cases in point.

It has been urged in some quarters that the best American bonds would have to sell to yield 6 or even 7 per cent., because European government bonds might be sold on that basis. Thus far relatively few foreign bonds have been disposed of in this country, although there appears to be an increasing disposition to place bonds of non-belligerent countries here. Both Norway and Sweden have sold notes running for two or three years to net 6 per cent. Short-term notes always command a higher rate than long-term bonds, and, besides, an attractive interest rate was necessary to induce subscriptions in this country. Prediction is futile, but it is fairly safe to assume that Americans will not take kindly to foreign bonds. Conditions may gradually change in this respect, but the fact that European nations engaged in war, or which are hard pressed financially and commercially because their neighbors are at war, must pay high rates does not by any means prove that the best of American securities need suffer a further radical decline.

II.—INVESTMENT INQUIRIES AND ANSWERS

No. 601. UTILITY, VERSUS RAILROAD AND INDUSTRIAL STOCKS

Of the three general divisions, railroad, industrial, and public utility, which stocks would you suggest as the best investments at the present time?

For strictly investment purposes, public utility. We say this on the strength of the records which show the rather remarkable stability of the earning power, through good times and bad, of established utility enterprises, as a class, as compared with the rather wide fluctuation of the earning power, under similar conditions, of both railroad and industrial corporations. At a time like the present, the close relationship between the revenue producing capacity of the two latter classes of corporations is unusually sharply defined. We note depression in the steel industry, and a consequent reduction in the revenues of the railroads serving the territory in which that industry centers; a tie-up of the cotton industry, and a consequent falling off in the revenues of the cotton-carrying roads; or to speak more generally, a paralysis of the nation's export business, and a consequent slump in the earnings of all the roads connecting the manufacturing centers with the seaboard. As for the utility corporations, some of the things which they produce, such as light, heat and telephone service, have come to occupy such peculiar positions among the "necessities," that demand for them seems to be affected little, if any, by conditions like these. It is a matter of statistical record, for example, that depression affects the telephone industry as a whole merely to the extent of retarding normal growth. Practically the same thing may be said of the gas industry. The tractions are, however, more susceptible; and companies whose business comprises to any appreciable extent the furnishing of power are perhaps the most susceptible. But given a company, or consolidation of utility companies, of diversified business, and serving a community or communities of diversified population,—that is, not dependent upon one industry or division of industry,—and earning power, which is the basis of investment merit in stock is found to hold up remarkably well.

No. 602. BONDS AND INTEREST RATES—A QUESTION FROM A BEGINNER

Will you kindly advise me what per cent. bankers get for investing money in bonds. I am inexperienced in such matters, but am contemplating the employment of some money in that way.

We do not quite understand your question. If you have reference to bankers who invest the surplus funds of their institutions for income purposes, the answer would depend somewhat upon the kind of banking in which they were engaged. Savings banks, particularly in New York and other Eastern states, are carefully regulated by law as to the kinds of investment they may make. Even under the present depressed condition of the market for bonds, the kinds of securities in which savings banks may invest their funds do not yield on the average more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ to $4\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. Commercial banks, when they have surplus funds to invest in bonds, are not held to such rigid rules. They would probably be able to choose now with the exercise of careful judgment safe bonds to yield between 5 and 6 per cent.

If you have reference to investment bankers, and are desirous of getting at how much they pay for the bonds they resell to their clients, your ques-

tion is one that can scarcely be answered in general terms. On some classes of bonds, like the very conservative municipal issues, for example, their margin of profit is very small. In a general way, it would be found somewhat larger on high-grade railroad bonds; and perhaps larger still on industrial and public utility bonds, depending, of course, to a large extent upon the character of the underlying security and the credit standing of the issuing companies.

No. 603. MISSOURI, KANSAS AND TEXAS BONDS

I own some Missouri, Kansas & Texas first and refunding 4 per cent. bonds, and have become alarmed about the safety of my investment upon noting that they have dropped to 51 in market value. I would like to have you indicate the nature of the security for these bonds, and tell me the cause for their big decline.

These bonds are a second lien on some 500 miles of road, and on the first mortgage bonds of a small branch line of about 47 miles, the Denison & Washita Valley Railway. They are a first lien on terminals and equipment, estimated at the time the mortgage was made to be worth in excess of \$24,000,000. The rather disturbing decline in the price of the bonds is to be accounted for partly by the unsettlement of the general market which followed the outbreak of the European war, and partly by the more or less uncertain state of the road's finances. The "Katy," as the road is called, has maturing on May 1, 1915, an issue of \$19,000,000 short-term notes, and there has been some disposition in financial circles to feel that it may not find it an easy matter, in view of the money and investment outlook, to provide for their payment. However, it is obviously too early now to tell how this situation may be met. The road's credit is not of the highest order, but its earnings have recently been making a reasonably good showing, and are likely to continue to during the remainder of the fiscal year. We do not think there is cause for immediate concern about the refunding bonds, but from now on we would suggest that you check up as frequently as possible on developments in the road's affairs.

No. 604. THE UNFORTUNATE ENDING OF A REAL-ESTATE INVESTING CONCERN

Some months ago you very kindly gave me information in regard to the Monaton Realty Investing Corporation, from which I gathered that it was possible the affairs of this concern might soon be settled. If there have been any new developments, or if the courts have taken definite action in connection with the concern's affairs, I should be glad to know of them, that I may take whatever action seems best in prosecuting a claim I have against the company.

To you and a number of other recent inquirers we regret to say that it is impossible to make any encouraging report regarding the status of this concern's affairs. Its promotion, from the very beginning, had aspects which were not liked by people competent to pass intelligent judgment on such matters, and which led the Investment Bureau of this magazine to caution its correspondents, generally, against investment in the company's stock and "bonds," so called. The company has gone through receivership and been practically wound up. Not long since we saw an official statement to the effect that the only tangible assets remaining amounted to between \$3000 and \$4000; whereas outstanding claims amounted to approximately \$1,500,000. It will be obvious to you that holders of the concern's securities suffer what amounts practically to total loss.